THE BRITISH ORIGIN OF COW-SLAUGHTER IN INDIA

WITH SOME BRITISH DOCUMENTS ON THE ANTI-KINE-KILLING MOVEMENT 1880-1894

"Though the Muhammadans' cow-killing is made he *pretext* for the agitation, it is *in fact* directed gainst us, who kill far more cows for our army, etc. han the Muhammadans."

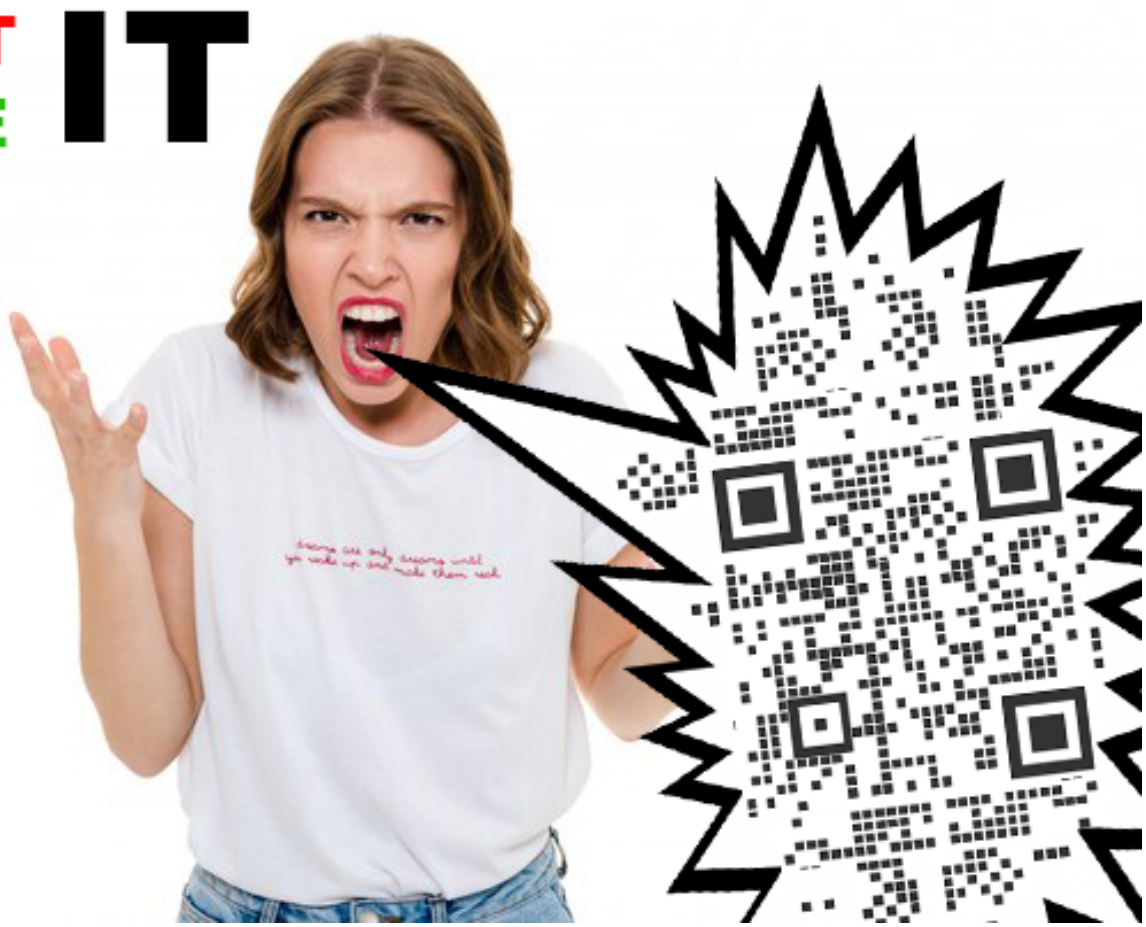
Queen Victoria to her Viceroy Lansdowne, December 8, 1893

AM 0348441 Code I-E-2003310847

14 UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA LIBRARY

SHOUT IT
SHARE



The British Origin of Cow-Slaughter in India

With some British documents on the anti-kine-killing-movement 1880-1894

"Though the Muhammadans' cow-killing is made the *pretext* for the agitation, it is *in fact* directed against us, who kill far more cows for our army, etc. than the Muhammadans."

Queen Victoria to her Viceroy Lansdowne,
December 8, 1893

Other books by Dharampal

Panchayat Raj as the Basis of Indian Polity: An Exploration into the Proceedings of the Constituent Assembly. AVARD, New Delhi, April 1962. Foreword by Jayaprakash Narayan.

Civil Disobedience in Indian Tradition: With some early nineteenth century documents. Sarva Sewa Sangh Prakashan, Varanasi, 1971. Foreword by Jayaprakash Narayan.

Indian Science and Technology in the Eighteenth Century: Some contemporary European Accounts. Impex India, Delhi, 1971. Reprinted by Academy of Gandhian Studies, Hyderabad, 1983.

The Madras Panchayat System, Vol II: A General Assessment. Impex India, Delhi, 1971.

The Beautiful Tree: Indigenous Indian Education in the Eighteenth Century. Impex India, Delhi, 1983. Reprinted by Keerthi Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., Coimbatore, Dec 1995

Some Aspects of Earlier Indian Society and Polity and Their Relevance to the Present. Indian Association for Cultural Freedom, Pune, 1988.

Angrezon Se Pehle Ka Bharat (in Hindi) Reprinted by Shatabadi Prakashan, Vidisha, Calcutta, 1988. Also published in Tamil.

Bharatiya Chitta Manas Kala (in Hindi) 1991. Also in English translation with an Introduction and Glossary by J.K. Bajaj, Centre for Policy Studies, Madras, 1993.

Bharat ka Swadharm, Itihas Vartaman aur Bhavishya ka Sandarbha (in Hindi) Vagdevi Prakashan, Bikaner, 1994.

Some of these books which were out of print have been reprinted by Other India Press, Goa, under the title *Dharampal Collected Writings*. This set of five volumes contains the following:
Vol 1 – Indian Science and Technology in the Eighteenth Century; Vol 2 – Civil Disobedience in Indian Tradition; Vol 3 – The Beautiful Tree: Indigenous Indian Education in the Eighteenth Century; Vol 4 – Panchayat Raj and India's Polity; Vol 5 – Essays on Tradition, Recovery and Freedom

The British Origin of Cow-Slaughter in India

With some British documents on the anti-kine-killing-movement 1880-1894

Dharampal
T. M. Mukundan

Society for Integrated Development of Himalayas, Mussoorie

ALD
BL
1215
.C7
D43
2002

THE BRITISH ORIGIN OF COW-SLAUGHTER IN INDIA

First Printing July 2002 (1000 copies)

ISBN: 81-87827-04-1

© The copyright of this book rests with the authors.
No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in, or introduced into a retrival system, or transmitted in any form by any means (electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise) withot the prior written permission of both the copyright owner and publisher of this book.

Published by:
Society for Integrated Development of Himalayas (SIDH)
PO Box 19, Landour Cantt.,
Mussoorie - 248179
Uttaranchal, India.
Tel: (0135) 632904/631304/633964/630338
Email: sidhsri@sancharnet.in

Printed at:
The Prism, A29, Naraina Industrial Area, New Delhi - 110 028.

In honoured memory of
Mira behn, 1892-1982
who gifted herself
to Mahatma Gandhi
and his work;

friend to all living beings,
as much as to the cows,
she called her world *Pashulok*

CONTENTS

1. Preface 1

2. Introduction 17

3. Some Early Major British Views on the Sanctity of the Cow 83-86
i) Correspondence between Governor-General Warren Hastings and W. Palmer (1780) 83
ii) Correspondence between J. Adam, Secretary to Governor General and C. T. Metcalfe (1818) 85
iii) Viceroy Lord Dufferin to Secretary of State for India, on Gondal, Saurashtra, wanting to ban cow slaughter in his domain, 31.10.1887 (IOL: Dufferin Papers) 86

4. British Intelligence Note on the Anti-Kine-Killing Agitation, August 9, 1893 (IOL: L/P&J/254/1894) 87

5. Narrative on the Agitation in the Punjab (IOL: L/P&J 298/1894) 123-289
I) Note on the agitation regarding the cow question in the Punjab compiled in the office of the Assistant to the Inspector-General of the Police, Punjab, Special Branch. 124
II) (i) Note by J. R. Drummond, Deputy Commissioner, Gurgaon, on the anti-kine killing propaganda (13.12.1893) 260
(ii) Letter from A. E. Hurry, Deputy Commissioner, Lahore, to Col. J. B. Hutchinson 266

(iii) Letter from Col. B. T. M. Lang, Deputy Commissioner, Amritsar, to Col. J. B. Hutchinson 268
(iv) Letter from Captain C.G. Parsons, Deputy Commissioner, Umballa, to Colonel L.J.H. Grey, C.B.I., Commissioner and Superintendent, Delhi Division (12.12.1893) 270
(v) Letter from E. Holder, Extra Assistant Commissioner, Umballa, to Captain C.G. Parsons, Deputy Commissioner, Umballa (9.12.1893) 272
(vi) Letter from P.W. Meakins, Inspector of Police, Umballa Cantonment, to E. Holder, Extra Assistant Commissioner, Umballa (11.12. 1893) 274
(vii) Letter from A. Anderson, Deputy Commissioner, Delhi, to the Commissioner and Superintendent, Delhi Division (2.12.1893) 275
(viii) Note by H. Jackson, District Superintendent of Police, Delhi (21.11.1893) 277
(ix) Confidential police report on the Gaurakshini Sabhas in the Delhi District 281
(x) Confidential note by Bashir Husain Inspector of Police on Gaurakshini Sabha at Ballabgarh (27.11.1893) 286
(xi) Letter from Colonel A. Rannick, Deputy Commissioner, Rohtak, to the Commissioner and Superintendent, Delhi Division (16.11.1893) 287
(xii) Letter from P.D. Agnew, Officiating Deputy Commissioner, Karnal, to Colonel L.J.H. Grey, C.B.I., Commissioner and Superintendent, Delhi Division (3.1.1894) 288
(xiii) Endorsement by the Commissioner and Superintendent, Delhi Division (6.1.1894) 289

6. British Correspondence on the Agitation in Bihar 291-428
a) Letter from A. Forbes, Commissioner, Patna Division to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal (27.10.1893) 292

b) Annexures to above letter
i) Letter from D.J. MacPherson, Magistrate of Gaya to the Commissioner of the Patna Division (8.10.1893) 317
ii) Letter from H.N. Harris, District Superintendent of Police, Gaya to the Magistrate of Gaya. (27.9.1893) [Enclosure to above note.] 329
iii) Address to the Maharaja of Jeypure by members of the Gaya Gaurakshini Sabha [Enclosure to Harris's note] 335
iv) Address to the Maharaja of Mysore by members of the Gaya Gaurakshini Sabha [Enclosure to Harris's note] 338
v) Letter from H.C. Williams, Magistrate and Collector, Darbhanga to the Commissioner of Patna Division. 340
vi) Note on the Madhubani Gaurakshini Sabha by B.K. Mullick, Sub-divisional Officer, Madhubani (9.10.1893) [Enclosure to Williams's note] 358
vii) Outline history of Hansas Swarup Swami *alias* Bindhyachal Pershad by H.M. Ramsay District Superintendent of Police, Muzaffarpur (22.9.1893) 368
viii) Specimens of Gaurakshini literature: (i) from Darbhanga (ii) from Saran (iii) abstract translation of patras circulated in Shahabad 375
(ix) Letter from T.M. Gibbon to A. Forbes, Commissioner, Patna Division (1.9.1893) 408
(c) Letter from H.J.S. Cotton Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal to the Commissioner of Patna Division (8.11.1893) 420
(d) Letter from H.J.S. Cotton Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department (11.11.1893) 428

7. Letter of British Monarch, Queen Victoria to Viceroy Lord Lansdowne on the agitation (8.12.1893) 429

8. Viceroy Lord Lansdowne's Minutes on the anti-kine killing movement (28.12.1893) 430

9. Speeches of Mahatma Gandhi on the Cow 443-446
Bettiah, (9.10.1917) 443
Muzaffarpur, (11.11.1917) 445
Bettiah Gaushala, (8.12.1920) 446

10. Epilogue 447

11. Index 460

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (at age 21) on the Cow and the Anti-Kine Killing Agitation

And certainly the milking of the cow, which, by the way, has been the subject of painting and poetry, cannot shock the most delicate feeling as would the slaughtering of her. It may be worth mentioning *en passant* that the cow is an object of worship among the Hindus, and a movement set on foot to prevent the cow from being shipped off for the purposes of slaughter is progressing rapidly.

Extracted from *The Vegetarian*, London, 7.2.1891, also in Collected Works of Mahatama Gandhi (CWMG) Vol 1, p.19

Preface

According to Indian belief, India, from the beginning of time, has been a land of the sacred. Here all life including insects, ants, all animals and plants, big or small, each and everyone has a sanctity of his or her own and the soul of each living being migrates from one life-form to another until the individual soul, after countless births and rebirths gets absorbed into the ultimate cosmic or divine form. Even those in India, who have over recent centuries been converted to other faiths like Islam or Christianity. continue to basically believe in this theory of transmigration from one life to another.

Of all beings the cow is treated in India as the most sacred, auspicious and sanctified. This sense of the unique sacredness of the cow is expressed in the works of ancient Indian rishis (like in the Vedas, etc.) as well as in later literature and folklore. Since about 1860 AD British and European scholarship started a new school of vedic interpretation to impress on the westernised class in India that the ancient Vedas, and allied texts also advocated, celebrated, and feasted on the flesh of the cow, or bullock, on special occasions. This mid nineteenth century western view, despite considerable scholarly effort to degrade the status of the cow for Indians, has, however, made little impact on the Indian mind.

Notwithstanding the continuous daily cow-slaughter by the

British for obtaining beef for some 150 years, the cow's widespread neglect during British rule and since, as well as the increasingly emaciated state of the cow today, the cow still remains sacred and holy to most Indians.

II

The first known molestation and killing of the cow is stated to have started with the eruption of Islamic conquerors into India. While Islam started entering parts of India by the 8th century, Islam's widespread impact on large parts of northern and western India largely began about 1200. From about 1200 to 1700 Islamic rulers, mostly hailing from western and central Asia began to dominate the polity of northern and western India and actually settled in and ruled many large cities and towns in these regions. During this period of five centuries a large number of rural Indian people, especially in the Punjab and the Bengal, also got converted to Islam, and thus while those who had come from west and central Asia, mostly lived in the cities, the converted largely remained as peasants, or as weavers and other artisans, and continued to live in the villages and small towns as in Bengal and the Punjab, or Bihar and Uttar Pradesh.

Before they came to India the food habits of the west and central Asian Islamic immigrants consisted of eating some type of bread along with the flesh of sheep, goat and camel. On festive and religious occasions (especially on the feast of Bakar Id which was celebrated once a year), Islamic tradition had prescribed the sacrificial killing and eating of a sheep, or goat, and when there were seven or more to share the feast, then a camel was sacrificed. The question of the sacrifice of a cow did not arise as the land where Islam arose did not have many cows.

Preface

When Islam settled in India it continued to sacrifice sheep, goats and camels on Bakar Id and other such occasions. As time passed, however, it took to sacrificing the cow instead of the camel. Later on, as there naturally was animosity between the Indian people and the Islamic conquerors, the latter at times, to humiliate and insult local sentiments, began to kill the cow largely to impress upon the conquered the conqueror's power. But it seems that political necessity and the need to reduce the hostility of the conquered to Islamic dominance, induced many Islamic kings at various times to forbid cow-killing in the areas they ruled. Not much work, however, has so far been done on the frequency of cow-killing during these 500 years (1200-1700) of Islamic dominance. It could be that for a period of 200-300 years no regular killing of cows took place. On the other hand, it is also possible that cow-killing could have been more frequent and widespread. A modern estimate (c.1950) by a recent well-known advocate for banning all cow slaughter states that the maximum number of cows killed in any one year during Islamic dominance would not ordinarily have exceeded 20,000 cows in all.

It can reasonably be assumed that there was very little cow-killing after about 1700 AD. Firstly, it seems that a large number of Indian converts to Islam did not ever take to the killing or eating of cow flesh. Secondly, as the dominance of Islam waned around 1700, so did the practice of cow-killing.

Strangely, however, the impression, originating perhaps around the mid nineteenth century, has continued to persist, namely that cow-slaughter at present, or in the past 200 years, is a continuation from the days of Islamic dominance. Even the learned and thoughtful judges of the Supreme Court of India, when giving their judgments on the present-day slaughter of what are termed as useless cattle, do not seem to have

made much effort to find out whether large-scale killing of these and other cattle during the last two centuries had really much to do with the sacrificial or political killing done during the 500 years of Islamic dominance.

Even those who demand the immediate and complete banning of cow slaughter, though they do admit that the British did kill a vast number of cows for the sake of their hides and leather, do seldom suggest that such killing was done for consuming beef. Maybe it is difficult for an Indian to imagine that any person could think of killing a cow for the purpose of consuming its flesh, while killing the cow for its hide and leather seems to a modern Indian somewhat permissible.

III

Modern Europe's interaction with India starts with the coming of the Portuguese to Calicut in 1498 AD. Within a few years of being received at Calicut the Portuguese began harassing, attacking, and occupying the territories of Goa. They kept them under their control till about 1950, ie, for nearly 450 years. It may be remembered that 1500 AD is about the time when Europe began to intrude, plunder, devastate, and whenever possible eliminate whole peoples like those in the Americas, Africa, countries of South East Asia, parts of China, Japan, Phillipines and later in Australia and New Zealand.

From about 1500 to about 1750 India by stages got encircled by the sea-power of several west European countries (Portugal, Netherlands, France, and Great Britan especially). Such encirclement began to snap India's links with its neighbours in the Indian Ocean, and because of their increasing weakness many Indian rulers started to allow European

powers to establish their trading posts, forts, and also ceded them small territories, and some even gave them trading rights in parts of India to participate in internal Indian trade. The Mughal ruler Jahangir (c. 1615) even took the help of the British Navy against the Portuguese obstructing the Mughal ships in the Persian Gulf. For this support against the Portugese and perhaps against others, he ceded places like Surat and adjoining territories to the British.

Except for holding the territories of Goa by Portugal, none of the other European powers, though they had been able to establish perhaps over a hundred trading and landing posts, and fairly substantial forts on the sea coast of India, both in the West and in the East, were unable to establish themselves, in any substantial parts of India till about 1750.

Around 1748 AD however, the British and the French on the pretext that they were having a private fight amongst themselves, enrolled two claimants to the small Tamil muslim territory of Arcot as their clients, and thus initiated a large scale battle which within a decade became a major war involving most of South India and made the British the rulers of the whole of Southern India by 1799.

Tasting victory in the Madras area the British advanced very fast. While retaining and expanding their 1750 acquisitions in South India, they moved northwards and subordinated large areas of Bengal by 1757. With ceaseless attacks all round, plunder everywhere, overbearing demeanour, and total abandon they achieved such a position in the anarchic and crumbling politics of northern India, that by 1762 they could have a Mughal prince of their picking declared as the emperor of Delhi. Certainly, the emperorship was nominal and for most of the time the prince was a prisoner and pensioner, first of the British, and later for a time of the Marhattas, and then of the British again. Through this nominal emperor they

got other weak and nominal Muslim rulers, but possessing high titles, like the Nawabs of Avadh, and of Hyderabad (soon after styled as Nizam), and others who could be treated as their subordinates to obey and follow British dictates. Though the Nawab of Arcot, and the much more known Nawab of Bengal were already, since 1750 and 1757 respectively, appointees of the British they were further legally bound down to the British by the *Firmans* of the Delhi Emperor, himself an appointee, a prisoner, and a pensioner of British power.

IV

It is thus that by 1780, Warren Hastings, appointed British Governor General of India in 1773 (by the British Government in London), was enabled to come in fairly close contact with some of the rulers of Rajasthan, especially those of Jodhpur, Jaipur, and Udaipur. The Rajasthan rulers it seems during most of the eighteenth century felt overwhelmed by the Marhattas and therefore had been anxious to befriend an expanding political power even alien like the British, who generally appeared hostile to Marhatta power. Hence the rulers of Jodhpur and Rajasthan were interested in friendly relations with the British.

During this short contact, around 1780, between Warren Hasting's emissaries and the Maharaja of Rajasthan, the Maharaja of Jodhpur and others expressed the wish, that in any formal treaty between them and the British the British must pledge that they will not engage in any cow slaughter in their territories. Evidently some of the British, then in the Maharaja's territory, had killed a number of cows for food. The British reputation of killing cattle for cow flesh must have in the previous decades spread widely in various parts of In-

dia. Hearing this Warren Hastings said to his emissary, "I am sorry that this delicacy (of not killing cows) was not observed before it was suggested (by the Rajasthan rulers)".

Not much, however, came of these negotiations then. But when similar negotiations were taken up, between the two, some 38 years later, in 1818, the British had become virtual conquerors of most of India. The British then informed Udaipur, Jodhpur, etc, that while every care will be taken by them to see that no cow-slaughter ordinarily took place in their territories, the British could not have such a prohibition written into any treaty.

As their power in India expanded and their adversaries became feeble, the British concern about 'delicacy' became weaker too. If a ruler or an area was strong, or was strategically located, then the British, respecting power and strength, agreed to such a condition from the Indian ruler. In the 1780s, Jodhpur and others needed to be cultivated by the British. Around the same time Maharaja Ranjit Singh also needed to be similarly placated and reconciled. After the death of Ranjit Singh the situation in the territories ruled by him were such that in many of them, including Kashmir, the condition of a ban on cow slaughter had to be agreed to with the new rulers. Even in most of Rajasthan, the more casual promise made in 1818, seems to have continued to hold ground till the British left India in 1947. It is quite possible, that though they are not much mentioned, many such agreements and promises had been made by the British to the numerous Indian rulers during the late eighteenth to the mid nineteenth century. There may possibly also have been a condition barring cow slaughter altogether in the territories of rulers of Travancore, Mysore, Ramnad, Baroda, Indore, Gwalior, Kolhapur, and many of the numerous Kathiawad states.

But when a state like Tripura (Bengal) around 1780 de-

sired the stipulation of banning cow slaughter in their territory it was declined. Tripura was too small. The number of such requests which were declined must be very large too. It would be worth knowing when the Portuguese started cow-slaughter in the Goa territories, from the beginning or from much later on.

It is fairly certain that when Islamic rulers, in different parts of Islam-dominated India, felt fairly stable they took firm steps, to reduce hostility between Hindus and Muslims to the minimum, by banning cow slaughter altogether in their territories. Similarly the major Muslim rulers would have agreed to a ban on cow slaughter in the territories of the Hindu Rajas considered as dependent on them. Over time as cow slaughter, appears to have lost its attraction to a large part of the Muslim community, perhaps because the community had largely become a community of peasants, cow slaughter seems to have speedily ceased with the collapse of Islamic power around 1700. The period 1700-1750 could therefore be taken as free of any substantive slaughter of the cow and its progency. It is possible that before 1750 the British and the French, did slaughter some cows in places like Surat, Masulipatam, Madras, Pondicherry and the other British trading ports. But such slaughter could only have been nominal as the numbers of the British or French on Indian soil till 1750 would have been very small.

V

State sponsored and state regulated slaughter of cattle, and other animals would have started, depending on British military requirements, some time after 1750 AD, initially around Madras, and soon after in the Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa area.

By 1800 factory type slaughter houses might also have begun to be constructed wherever there were concentrations of British soldiers, or other Europeans. Initially, till about 1760 some dry meat was imported from Britain for British use. But it seems such imports were stopped soon after the British began to have control over substantial Indian territory.

The setting up of slaughterhouses needed professional butchers. Such butchers could to an extent be had from the Muslim communities who engaged in such tasks, or such persons or community could be persuaded or coerced to become butchers of cattle. They could also perhaps be had from such Indians who had around then been converted to Western Christianity or from such amongst the Hindus whose profession was hunting and the like, or who skinned dead animals. But as the British demand for cow flesh increased with the increase of British military and civil population, more and more persons were needed to take up the numerous tasks linked with the slaughter of cattle. Such additional persons, in time, could mainly be had from amongst Indian Muslims who had become amenable to take up the new profession.

That the Muslims continued to sacrifice the cow at least on certain occasions, like the Bakar Id, and that they were further made to feel that the job of a butcher was worthy and honorable was also a basic political requirement of British rule in India. The Muslims of India, mainly converted from amongst the various regions and *jatis* of India, mostly during the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, were not to be distinguished easily from those with whom they had been ethnically and culturally one, till the coming of the British into India. The main publicly known characteristic which in recent time seems to be said to distinguish a Muslims is that he would kill the cow and eat its flesh, while the rest would not. In actual fact, perhaps, many of the immigrant Muslims,

as well as a majority of the converted seldom did actually eat cow flesh. This may be true even of many Muslims who live in Pakistan, or Bangladesh today. Most of those who got converted to Islam especially in these two regions were largely engaged in agricultural pursuits. Hence most of them had the same practices, likes and dislikes, as their erstwhile cousins in the rest of the older India had.

But for the British it was a matter of prime importance that the Muslims in India assumed a separate identity and the mutual social intercourse amongst Indians became less and less, and that with the passing of time the Muslims began to live separately in distinct localities. Thus while in certain areas, people might have converted to Islam as compact localities, in others smaller groups of the converted, Muslims were encouraged to gather into compact rural, semi-rural, or urban Muslim localities. Similar separating of persons of different Christian denominations had happened in various regions of Europe, after the split into Roman Catholic and Protestant, from about the mid-sixteenth century.

VI

Soon after the territorial control of British power over various areas of India, the British introduction of never ending rack-renting and extortion destroyed the ancient Indian agricultural prosperity. British policies reduced the Indian peasants into paupers and their land into waste. The British induced famine of 1769-70 in Bengal, brought about by hoarding of grain and playing the market, starved to death about one-third to one half of the population of Bengal. Soon after such a devastation, the British rulers of Bengal boasted to their masters in London that the amount of land revenue real-

ization in Bengal, despite such a calamity and widespread hunger, was somewhat larger in money than in the previous year.

From about the time of the Bengal famine of 1769-70 most of the territories under British control in India were thereafter in a continuous state of distress; famine occurred practically in every district during most years whether in southern India or northern India, with the result that the peasantry of India were deprived even of its earlier grain surpluses. From now on it generally had little seed left for the sowing of the next crop, its bullocks, ploughs and other agricultural implements were largely sold or pawned to pay the previous years debts, and from about 1770 to 1940 a large part of the peasantry had been reduced to landlessness, or to uncertain unskilled labour. There were great famines every few years in most areas and it was then that the people of India began to appreciate their great good fortune in living in times before they came in contact with the British. The coming of the British in India was to ordinary Indians a 200 years long blight.

According to Maithali Saran Gupta, the great Hindi author of *Bharat Bharati* (c. 1912) around one crore and ninety lakh (1,90,00,000) Indians died because of famine and hunger during the ten years 1890-1900 alone, while the total casualties in Europe during wars in the whole nineteenth century were just 50 lakhs.

Further from the beginning, i.e. from about 1750 or so, the British, as also the French, in the earlier decades, had a great demand on the strong bullocks of the peasantry and their carts for carrying military baggage, and to transport ammunition and various kinds of supplies as well as European soldiers and other European civilians over long distances.

This enforced demand on bullocks, carts, supplies, food, and the unpaid labour of the villagers was a constant accom-

paniment of being governed by the British. Except in places where the railway took over part of the transporting from about 1850, such enforced labour and supplies continued in full force in most parts of India till around 1930.

VII

We must thank Queen Victoria of Great Britain for having broadcast the truth about the widespread cow-killing in India, by the British, in her letter to her Indian Viceroy. During a very major anti-kine-killing movement from about 1880-1894 Queen Victoria referred to the subject thus on December 8, 1893: "Though the Muhammadans' cow-killing is made the pretext for the agitation, it is in fact, directed against us, who kill far more cows for our army, etc. than the Muhammadans."

Not only did most Indians, Hindus, Muslims and Christians also see this clearly at the time, but a large number of high British officers knew and talked about the fact that the anti kine-killing agitation was actually against the widespread cow-killing to supply daily beef to the over 1,00,000 British soldiers and officers of the British army in India, as well as to the several lakh British and European civilians living in India to assist in the running of the British imperial system.

It is evident from a careful and analytical reading of the British intelligence documents pertaining to 1880-1893 Punjab, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, that the Muslims on the whole appear to have been rather for giving up cow-slaughter altogether, and seem to have engaged in it mainly under British instigation. It could perhaps also be said that the Muslim insistence on cow-slaughter, wherever it is said to have prevailed in India since 1880, had been the result of British coer-

cion, and the British insistence that the Muslims should continue to observe, what the British called the Muslim tradition of killing the cow, and the British wished that the Muslims also continue to insist on their right to do so.

VIII

For some 2000 years, Europe has been a major consumer of beef. Naturally therefore the killing of cows by Europeans, especially by the British, started soon after they began to establish themselves in various parts of India in the early eighteenth century. To begin with the number of cows killed would not have been too noticeable. But by the end of the 18th century such killing would have assumed larger proportions, and large number of slaughter houses, copying European models, would have been set up in various parts of India by the Commissariat wing of the three British armies (of the Presidencies of Bengal, Madras and Bombay). To do such killing a large number of slaughterers had to be found. At a rough estimate the number of such slaughterers could have increased five to tenfold from about 1800 to 1900.

The number of British officers and soldiers in India were around 20,000 at c.1800. In 1856 this number is stated to have been around 45,000. However, by the end of 1858 the number of British soldiers in India was increased to 1,00,000. As the major part of this increased army personnel was posted in northern India, consequently cow-killing and the consumption of beef by the British in northern India would have multiplied four-fold or more. Such a sudden increase in cow-slaughter, along with the increased impressment of strong bullocks to transport the increased British army whenever it moved to a new location, greatly alarmed the people. Such

alarms in fact seem to have started soon after 1830. By about 1870 the alarm produced by such immense slaughter began to be considered a great threat. The first major expression of the Indian anger and resentment was given by the Kukas (Namdhari Sikhs), and a few years later Swami Dayananda Saraswati and other sanyasis gave the call for the stoppage of cow-slaughter by the British, and suggested the formation of Go-samvardhani Sabhas. The size of the British army in India continued at 1,00,000 for some 50 years, until about 1910.

IX

Though defeated in 1893-94, the anti-kine-killing movement did not die out altogether. It continued haltingly, from year to year, until the days of India's freedom from British rule in 1947. But by then a substantial section of the powerful in India had not only lost any interest they had in the subject, but they even began to be tempted by the material and commercial advantages of continuing with cow-slaughter. Strangely, in 1950 the Government of India advised the governments of the various States, when they were discussing and planning ways for the complete banning of cow-slaughter, not to close down the slaughter houses as the cow-hides obtained through slaughter were of much greater value than those from dead cattle. In 1954 a Government of India committee, established to suggest ways to stop cow-slaughter, came up with the recommendation that as India had little fodder and cattle-feed, it could only maintain 40 percent of the cattle it had. The committee suggested that the rest, 60 percent, should be culled. Henceforth, along with the learned judgments of the Supreme Court, the Government in Delhi thus began permitting the slaughter of cows and the cow's prog-

eny (as well as of other animals) on an even larger scale for a variety of reasons, and in recent decades has even started handing out grants and loans for setting up huge modern slaughter houses especially for producing meat for export.

This book includes three major documents regarding the anti-kine-killing movement of 1880-1894. The first is the very precise report of the Superintendent of the Thagi & Dacoity Department, on the movement, written for his superiors (dated 9 August 1893). The second is a narrative of the happenings in the Punjab from 1882-1893, as reported by the Punjab Intelligence Department. The third is a report, in communications and narratives, on the events in some areas of Bihar from about 1886 to 1893. Besides these documents, the letter from Queen Victoria to her Viceroy in India, the minute of Viceroy Lansdowne and some other material have also been reproduced.

At the age of 22, in 1891, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, just made a Bar-at-Law in London, was as aware of the anti-kine-killing movement then, as was the far older British Queen. Later, according to Mahatma Gandhi, in 1917 some 30,000 cows were being killed daily by the British to provide them with beef. These two statements are also included in the book.

I discovered this material many years ago, sometime in the 1970s, in the India Office Library archives in London. Most of the documents were amongst the private papers of the Viceroys Lansdowne and Elgin, and a great number in

the India Office series L/P&J. I am thankful to the India Office Library for the use of this material and to its staff for much help.

The amount of material on this anti-kine-killing movement amounts to several thousand pages, and large parts of it may also be located in the National Archives of India, Delhi, or in the papers of the Thagi & Dacoity Department of the Government of India (c.1840-1910).

The material reproduced and discussed in the book was solely for the use of the British rulers in India as well as in Britain, so it could express many of the views, like that the Muslim on the whole were wanting to give up cow-slaughter, or the agitation was a conspiracy between the Hindus and Muslims against British rule, or, as mentioned earlier, Queen Victoria writing to the Viceroy that, she thinks, "The Muhammadans do require more protection than the Hindus, and they are decidedly by far the more loyal. Though the Muhammadan's cow killing is made the pretext for the agitation, it is, in fact, directed against us, who kill far more cows for our army, & c, than the Muhammadans."

The Introduction to the book is by Sri T M Mukundan of Chennai, who is associated with many groups and institutions, especially with the PPST Foundation and the Centre for Policy Studies, Chennai. Without his constant concern this book could not have been produced, and so a task, envisaged some decades ago, has finally been completed. Others who have helped in the preparation and completion of this work have been Sri Pawan Gupta, Smt. Anuradha Joshi, Sri Amit Chakravarty, Sri Pradeep Dixit, Sri Ram, Smt. Rama, and my daughter, Gita.

Dharampal
Sevagram,
Buddha Purnima, Vikram Samvat 2059
May 26, 2002

Introduction

A Short Account of the Events, especially in the Punjab and Bihar, During the Anti-Kine-Killing Movement Against British Rule around 1880-1894.

The cow has always been one of the symbols of Indian civilisational identity. Mahatma Gandhi has said that the sanctity of the cow is "the central fact of Hinduism" and "the one concrete belief common to all Hindus". Starting with the period of Islamic invasions, and passing through the period of Islamic rule in many parts of India, especially the much more extended and heavier rule of the British, the Indians have found it difficult to preserve the sanctity of the cow.

While it is generally known that a very large number of the cow and its progeny were daily slaughtered by the British for their army in India and for innumerable British European men and women from about 1750 onwards, it is little known, even to most scholars and historical researchers on India, that there were huge India-wide movements by crores of Indians against such slaughter. One such major movement was the anti-kine-killing movement against the British during the period 1880-1893. No one seems to have any recollection of it today and there does not seem to be any mention of it in the numerous accounts of the late nineteenth century India.

It is stranger still that there is practically little memory of this movement left even amongst such people who have been for generations protectors and worshipers of the cow and whose ancestors were only four to five generations ago, actively concerned with this movement for about half of their life.

It is true that a few modern scholars have taken some marginal note of this movement but they have largely treated it as a major quarrel, sometimes argumentative and sometimes violent, between the Hindus and the Muslims especially in northern India. That Queen Victoria, the British Queen and her high officers thought that the movement was aimed rather against the British and not against the Muslims as such, has strangely somehow not made any impression on scholars.

The material on this movement runs into several thousand pages. While most of this archival material would have originated in the records of the government of India as well as in those of the governments of the Indian provinces much of it seems to be more easily accessible in the records maintained at the India Office Library, London. The major reporting on the movement is in the India Office series L/P&J. There is also valuable material on the movement especially amongst the papers of the Viceroys Lansdowne and Elgin. The material being reprinted here fully, pertains to the movement in the Punjab and Bihar. The report of the Superintendent of the Thagi & Dacoity Department (9th August 1893), the name of the Political Intelligence Department of the Government of India then, is also fully printed, as also the minute of the Viceroy Lansdowne (28 December 1893).

The starting of cow slaughter by the British on practically a daily basis greatly horrified and distressed the Indians. But by about 1770 they were in no position to oppose such slaughter with any determination. Around 1780 Indian kingdoms like

Jodhpur and Udaipur in Rajasthan, and the small state of Tripura in Bengal, made it a condition that the British promised not to kill any cows in their respective kingdoms, before these kings would have any alliance or political treaty with them.

A few decades later even such insistence became impractical. But as the strength of the British army personnel in India was only around 20,000 or so in the early nineteenth century, and the British were generally cautious in not building slaughter houses in older Indian towns and cities, but erected them in specially built military cantonment towns, Indians could with some effort avoid seeing the slaughter, or the sight of shops displaying and selling beef.

However, by about 1830 matters became much more difficult, and the image of British Rule – ever continuing famines, rack-renting, vast use of torture in the realization of revenue, fast destruction of India's industries, increasing indifference to Indian customs and social and cultural practices, taking away of forests and grazing lands from localities and communities, ever increasing forced labor and supplies for the British army and officers, ever increasing forced pressing of bullocks into British military regiments, and for travel of British persons – became more and more tyrannical and unwelcome to behold.

With ever increasing daily slaughter of the cow and its progeny the picture became much more intolerable. Thus the suffering of the cow became a major symbol of British tyranny which needed to be ended at the soonest possible opportunity. That the Indians were shocked by the rumour of the greasing of the bullet by cow fat, or pig fat merely symbolised in a dramatic way the disgust aroused in India by practically everything which the British did. Such disgust and anger ultimately led to the events of 1857, but while the Indi-

ans were brave and courageous, they seem to have long lost the mastery of politics, and within a year or so the British brutally and fully humbled India, and by the end of 1858 came out as unchallenged and vengeful victors.

The British victory led to the doubling and trebling of the British component of the British Indian army. The British strength was increased in 1858 to one lakh or more, and the strength of the Indian counterpart was reduced from the previous four to five lakhs to two lakhs. As a very large proportion of the strength of the increased British personnel was located in various parts of northern India the slaughter of the cow grew apace much more in northern India than elsewhere. The result of such immense daily slaughter began to disrupt Indian agriculture and rural life even much more, and within a few years groups like the Kukas (Namdhari Sikhs) began to violently oppose the British promoted and managed killing of the cow. Such a position began manifesting itself by the 1870s.

The Role of the Kukas

In the Punjab various agitations for protecting cows came up from time to time. The Kukas or Namdhari sect of the Sikhs were up in arms against the British from as early as the 1860s and cow-protection was one of the major issues that rallied them against British rule. For the Kukas, as for all Sanatani Hindus, a ruler who allowed or became a party to cow-killing did not deserve to rule.

In 1869, there was an uprising of Kukas which proclaimed Sikh Raj at Ferozpur in the Punjab. In 1870, some Muslim butchers were murdered at Amritsar. *In 1872 a number of Kukas, who had confessed and were held responsible for the murders, were executed by the British government. Sixty-three Kukas were blown from guns and several hanged.* In

1872 once again there was an uprising of the Kukas which commenced with an agitation against cow-killing. In December 1887, a Kuka was reported to be going around Amritsar singing the following verse, "The unclean have come from London, and have established slaughter-houses in every place. They have killed our Gurus, and we must now sacrifice our lives." The Kukas were thus active in the cow-protection agitation in Punjab throughout this period.

Beside the Kukas, mentioned above, there were many others, all over India, who began to think of concrete action to counter the mounting slaughter. There were numerous sanyasis who from about now onwards dedicated their life to the task. The most prominent of them was Sriman Swami from the South, whose voice seemed to have great weight all over India. Then there was Swami Dayananda Saraswati, the founder of the Arya Samaj. By the early 1880s most of them were linked together in the Gaurakshini Sabhas.

Gaurakshini Sabhas

The Gaurakshini Sabha became eventually the most important organisation of the movement and played a major role in extending and intensifying the movement all across North India, particularly in UP and Bihar. Many wandering sanyasis and sadhus played a major role in the movement, often through the Gaurakshini Sabhas. Sanyasis were responsible for the formation of many Gaurakshini Sabhas. Innumerable Government servants also played an important role in the movement as members of these Sabhas. Some of these Sabhas also made efforts to enroll Hindu Rajas. Many wealthy Hindus contributed large sums of money to these Sabhas.

Initially, the Sabhas were involved in running gausalas for providing shelter to cattle taken away from those who were taking them to slaughter houses, and petitioning the govern-

ment. As the movement became more widespread and assertive, the Sabhas became important centres of the agitation. They were increasingly involved in saving the cows from the butchers by purchasing them. They urged Hindus not to sell cows to butchers or to middlemen. Hindus who violated the rules of the Sabha had to pay cash penalties. These Sabhas often enforced various decisions through social pressures, through the various caste organisations. It was even reported in the UP region that unless a person contributed to the Sabha, he would cease to be a Hindu. *Meetings of some of these Sabhas were attended by Muslims as well.*

Wandering Campaigners

A very important feature of this movement was that many sadhus and sanyasis were travelling far and wide all across Northern and Central India, campaigning against cow-slaughter, raising money, setting up various organizations for cow-protection etc. They provided a link between various sections of the society – the elite and the common people. Sriman Swami, Swami Ala Ram, Gopalanand Swami, Swami Bhaskaranand, Swami Brahmanand and Khaki Baba were some of the many sanyasis who were very active in mobilizing the people. Large groups of wandering sadhus and sanyasis, like the Naga Sadhus were active in the districts of UP and Bihar. Besides these sanyasis, many other itinerant speakers also traveled widely giving lectures and addressing large gatherings of people. All these travelling speakers and sanyasis distributed innumerable pamphlets and drawings of Gomata and emphasised the point that killing a cow was equivalent to killing one's own mother.

Role of Dayananda Saraswati and the Arya Samaj

In the period 1880-94, the Arya Samaj was one of the first organisations to campaign against cow-slaughter and to start

Gaurakshini Sabhas. Subsequently the Arya Samaj was joined by various Dharma Sabhas and other Hindu organizations throughout the country. Pandit Dayanand Saraswati[1], had been concerned about cow-protection since 1866. He criticized the British Raj on this basis, since one of the duties of a king was to prevent the destruction of useful animals, because the people depended on them. One cow and its progeny could in the long run provide food for a hundred thousand, whereas its carcass scarcely fed a hundred. The cow should not be killed because it was the basic condition of the good health and nutrition of all the people. Indians were degenerating physically because of the shortage of milk products.

In early 1881, Swami Dayananda took the decision to launch an agitation against cow-slaughter and gave many lectures on this issue. He wrote a pamphlet "Gau Karunanidhi", in praise of the cow and against cow-killing. The first half of this booklet set out the case for a ban on the slaughter of cows and other useful animals. The economic argument was elaborated and supported by references from scriptures and points of opponents were answered in detail. Swami Dayananda argued that *killing cows, leads to the ruin of society by undermining the production of the best possible food and also did a great deal of harm by destroying the natural order and harmony of the universe.* The consumption of meat in any form was sinful. Dayananda asserted that the Vedas did not prescribe any rite involving killing of animals or meat-eating.

The second part of "Gau Karunanidhi" contained the laws and byelaws of the Gokrishyadirakshini Sabha, usually shortened to Gaurakshini Sabha. This document gave details of

1 Pandit Dayanand Saraswati, the founder of the Arya Samaj was the most influential person in mobilizing public opinion in the early part of this period, until his death in October 1883. He referred to this issue in his *Satyarth Prakash*.

membership, organisation and management of the Sabha. "All men who wish to devote their effort and help by body, mind, or riches, to this work for the benefit of all" were invited to become members, and any society with similar aims was urged to associate itself. Dayananda seems to have been concerned that membership be kept open to all: *"It should be borne in mind that a member may belong to any community or group whatsoever, and that any community or organisation affiliated should have a representative in the executive committee."* This pamphlet was distributed in many parts of North India by the members of the Arya Samaj and became very popular. A Gaurakshini Sabha was immediately started in Agra, and several more followed soon.

Swami Dayananda also planned to intensify and spread the movement by collecting at least one lakh signatures to a Memorial which was to be presented to Queen Victoria, the British Parliament, and the British Governor-General of India. This document published in Bombay in March 1882 stated the case against cow-slaughter and asked the Government "to quickly put an end to the slaughter of cows, bullocks and buffaloes". Hundred of copies of this appeal were sent with an accompanying letter from Swami Dayananda to branches of the Arya Samaj, to leading persons and institutions, and to the rulers of the princely states. There were reports of 40,000 signatures from Mewar, and of 60,000 from Patiala. Altogether several lakh signatures were reported to have been collected.

Related Agitations

There were other related agitations which began around this time. An agitation against the use of sugar manufactured by the European method, in which the bones of cattle were said to be made use of in the process of refinement, was re-

ported from Lahore and Amritsar in 1881. This agitation picked up strength along with the cow-protection movement once again in 1884. In November 1884, this agitation was revived at Bahawalpore, and spread to Lahore, Amritsar, Peshawar, Ludhiana, Multan, Gurdaspur, Jullundur etc. In the spring of 1885 this agitation had reached Delhi and then seemed to subside. This movement received a fresh impetus from the sitting of the "Bharat Dharm Mahamandal" formed in Hardwar in 1887, which had also taken up the issue of cow-protection. By 1890, the agitation against European sugar had revived in Bengal as well as in the UP and Punjab regions. In early 1891, the Hindus of Nuddea in Bengal were said to have given up the use of foreign salt and sugar since these were said to be refined with bone-dust. In 1891, this agitation had spread to Central India.

I
ANTI-KINE-KILLING MOVEMENT IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF INDIA

THE PUNJAB

In 1862, the Maharaja of Patiala as a member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council attempted to introduce a Bill for suppressing the sale of beef in India, but the proposal was rejected by the Council.

From early 1882, from all across the Punjab, a number of petitions against cow-killing were sent to the Government. The Arya Samaj was the moving force behind this campaign. Members of the Arya Samaj in UP and the Punjab went out to various centres with copies of petitions in order to get signatures. Arya Samaj branches at Meerut, Gurgaon, Ferozpur,

Multan, Lahore, Sialkot and Rawalpindi were involved in this campaign. Petitions were circulated in Delhi, Ludhiana, Gujranwala, Hissar, Sirsa, Rohtak, Lahore and Sialkot. In some places several lakhs of people signed these petitions. *In many places both Hindus and Muslims signed the petitions against cow-killing.* During this period, Gaurakshini Sabhas were started by the Arya Samaj in all the large towns of the Punjab. By the end of July 1882, the movement against cow-killing began to involve people from all sections of society, including a large number of government employees.

By 1883, as the agitation became more intense and widespread, tensions began to develop between Hindus and Muslims. Hindus began to boycott some fairs (melas) and other places where beef was sold in public. Various kinds of social pressures were used by Hindus against Muslims for their having become instrumental in cow-slaughter. By 1884, many newspapers had taken up the cause of cow-protection. Some of them talked about the need for Hindu-Muslim harmony. *In July 1884, the Farsi Akhbar, a newspaper from Lahore, wrote that the European practice of eating beef was the main cause of the tensions between Hindus and Muslims and that the Hindus should ask the Government to prohibit cow-slaughter. In October 1884, the same newspaper wrote that although cows were slaughtered by Muslim butchers, yet it was done by the orders of the authorities who "desired that disharmony should prevail" between Hindus and Muslims*[2].

---

2 The newspaper *Aftab-I-Punjab* (Lahore), in its issue of 6 September 1886, referred to the frequent occurrence of disputes between Hindus and Muslims regarding the killing of cows on the day of the Id, and advised Muslims to stop killing cows, since Islam did not specially insist on the killing of cows. The *Wasir-ul-Mulk* (Sialkot), in its issue of 12 October 1886, also referred to the frequent clashes between Hindus and Muslims in connection with the killing of cows and urged

In June 1884, Swami Ala Ram[3] spoke near the Golden Temple on cow-protection. Throughout 1885, he was campaigning all across the Punjab, speaking and raising funds for the protection of cows – for buying them to save them from slaughter and for establishing gausalas.

There were many such wandering speakers, sadhus and others, who addressed Hindus wherever they gathered in large numbers, at fairs, at bathing ghats and so on. One such speaker was Banarsi Das[4], who had campaigned all over the Hindu States in Central India and Rajasthan in 1882. In 1884, he was travelling in the Punjab, speaking to gatherings of Hindus.

As the movement against cow-killing intensified, the Government began to retaliate by forcing Gaurakshini Sabhas to close and by punishing Government servants who participated in the movement. In 1884, government servants who played an important part in starting a Gorakshini Sabha in Kalka were punished. By the end of June 1884, the Gorakshini Sabha in Ambala was forced to close under orders from the

---

the Muslims to stop killing cows. The *Koh-I-Nur* (Lahore), in its issue of 27 November 1886, pointed out that the riots between Hindus and Muslims were the result of cow-killing and stated that the Hindus were mistaken in holding the Muslims responsible "since it is the Europeans who use beef, and were it not for them the Muhammadans would not indulge in kine slaughter".

3 Swami Ala Ram was an important member of the Amritsar Arya Samaj and a major campaigner against cow-killing in the Panjab. He was also associated with the Indian National Congress and spoke at the Congress sessions in 1888, 1890, 1891 and 1892. He lived entirely on charity, fed and clothed by the public.

4 Banarsi Das was a popular speaker in Delhi and spoke to large gatherings at the bathing ghats, and had also gone to England a few years earlier to present a petition against cow-killing.

Deputy Commissioner. However members continued to keep up the work of the Sabha secretly, and collection of funds went on as before. Such secret meetings were reported from other places also. Money was collected to purchase old cows in order to save them from slaughter and to purchase grazing grounds for cattle. Sometimes there were open meetings attended by large numbers of people. About 2,000 people were present at the Arya Samaj meeting in Amritsar city in October 1885. Hundreds of old and unproductive cows were purchased in fairs and sometimes sent away to places like Hardwar where grazing lands and gausalas were available. Sometimes tensions between Hindus and Muslims over the question of cow-killing led to serious riots. In late 1886, such riots were reported from Delhi and Ludhiana.

Towards the end of 1886, there were reports that members of the Arya Samaj were enlisting in the army and campaigning among the sepoys. It was also believed that the Kukas were campaigning among the Sikhs in the army. There were also rumours in many parts of the Punjab that the Russians would defeat the British and conquer India and then put a stop to cow-killing.

In September 1887, when the Hindus of Jhajjar prepared a petition to Government that cow-slaughter be officially prohibited in their town, some Muslims also supported them. In the same month, two newspapers of Delhi published an attested copy of a *Farman* issued by the Emperor Shah Alam, in which it was stated that the killing of cows or oxen was strictly prohibited according to the Hadis, and that the slaughter of these animals was prohibited throughout the Empire[5].

By the winter of 1887-88, the anti-cow-slaughter agitation

---

5 However, this report raised a controversy with others trying to prove that the *Farman* was not authentic.

had become so widespread that the Thagi & Dacoity Department of the Government of India, set up in 1840, established a Special Central Branch with branches at the headquarters of the various local Governments in order to collect information on the agitation from the different provinces.

Around April 1888, when the slaughter house at Gujranwala violated the Punjab Government regulations[6] *regarding cow-slaughter, several petitions signed by important Hindus and Muslims were given to the district authorities and the Municipality for removing the slaughter house to a more suitable place.* Several members of the Municipality were also in favour of moving the slaughter house.

About this time, a Sadhu delivered a lecture at Ferozpur on the "Duties of the Hindus". *He said that the price of ghee had become exorbitant and in a few years it would be impossible to buy ghee. He said that the Muslims should, since they were large consumers of ghee, join the Hindus in asking Government to ban cow-killing and to close beef shops which had opened in that city.* Several newspaper articles also said that milk and ghee were becoming prohibitively expensive because of large-scale cow-slaughter[7].

In July 1888, a mass meeting of Hindus and Muslims was

---

6 Slaughter houses should not be situated within 300 yards from the limits of the town or on a public road; animals brought for slaughter should not be taken or tied on a main road etc.

7 The *Panjab Panch* (Lahore) dated 3 May 1888 wrote that *while the Hindus were justified in protesting against cow-killing on religious grounds, the Muslim community alone was not responsible for the practice of cow-killing. It was mainly for the sake of Europeans that the slaughter of cows was allowed.* The *Aftab-I-Punjab* (Lahore), dated 30 May 1888, published a letter addressed to Christians, in which the writer quoted several passages from the Christian Scripture in order to show that it was not the duty of

held in Ferozpur city under the presidentship of a Hindu Pleader for giving a petition to the Lt. Governor asking that the slaughter houses recently established in the city suburbs be closed. The Muslims were afraid that the opening of a beef shop was likely to disturb the peace and harmony which had existed between the Hindus and Muslims. They said that those who wanted beef could easily get it from the Cantonments.

Both the British Government and the pro-British Press, however, attempted to dissuade the Muslims from making common cause with the Hindus. Referring to the above-mentioned meeting, the *Imperial Paper* (Lahore) dated 21 July 1888 remarked that the Muslims of Ferozpur did not understand the real object of the agitation against cow-killing. *The Paper warned the Muslims against supporting the agitation since the real object of the movement was to inflict a blow on both the English and the Muslims, both of whom were beef eaters, by uniting the Hindus against them.*

However, some of the non-English newspapers praised the Muslims of Ferozepore for uniting with Hindus to get beef shops closed. One newspaper said that with the exception of some very poor people, Muslims did not eat beef nor did they consider it their duty to do so. It advised both communities to cooperate in stopping cow-killing which was at the root of all the quarrels which arose between them. Yet another newspaper said that the Muslims and Hindus of Ferozpur set a very good example which other cities would do well to follow.

A newspaper from Delhi said that according to a Parsi gentleman, who strongly advocated banning of cow-slaughter, at least 40,50,000 cows had been slaughtered in the pre-

---

Christians to eat beef, and called upon them to give up this practice for the sake of the Hindus.

vious 30 years (i.e. since the Mutiny) for the British troops. *The paper remarked that Hindus who blamed Muslims for cow-slaughter should ponder over this fact. Another newspaper pointed out that Islam did not require its followers to kill any animals in public if such an act was likely to create a disturbance. Therefore Muslims were not obliged to kill cows. Instead they should work for developing friendly relations with the Hindus and not do anything which would offend them.*

A Muslim official writing in a Lahore newspaper pointed out that the rulers of India consumed more beef than the rulers of Islamic countries. A Kapurthala paper said that the English "whose country produces nothing except fish and lizards" continued the practice of cow-killing because they were ignorant of the benefits which people derived from the cow.

In December 1888, the agitation once again picked up momentum with a new mode of campaigning. Hundreds of pamphlets against cow slaughter were sent by post from the Kharati Gausala in Lucknow to various districts in the Punjab. Such pamphlets were circulating widely in late 1889 also.

In August 1889, in Rohtak, following the killing of a cow, the two communities boycotted each other and started their own shops, vegetable stalls etc. There were also occasions when both Hindus and Muslims came together. In August, there was a report from Jullundur saying that leading Hindus and Muslims had signed a joint petition to the Deputy Commissioner asking for the removal of a slaughter house from the city and suggesting that if it was necessary to have a slaughter house, it should be erected three to four miles away from the city. From Hissar District came a report that a Committee consisting of both Hindus and Muslims had been formed for stopping cow-slaughter.

In March 1890 Swami Ala Ram was campaigning in

Lahore, following which he visited Amritsar and *spoke in the Golden Temple.* He said he had been travelling for some years and had been instrumental in establishing 360 gausalas. There were 1500 cows in the Allahabad Gausala where milk was selling at one anna per seer whereas the market price was two annas per seer. *In some places Muslims had also contributed liberally towards the gausalas. He appealed to the Muslims saying that the Quran and Hadis required all to be merciful and said the cow deserved more mercy than any other creature.* He compared the neglect of the cow under English rule to the protection of the cow by Hindu rulers and said that under Hindu rulers no asylums for cows were necessary whereas under British rule no less than 300 had been set up. He said allowing cows to fall into the hands of butchers was a great sin, equivalent to slaughtering a cow with one's own hands. He exhorted his audience to give and collect all the money they could for purchasing cows and protecting them from slaughter and also for constructing asylums for cows.

In July 1890, a Karnal newspaper condemned the conflicts between the Muslims and Hindus of Delhi. It said that since cows were important for agriculture as well as for milk and butter, Muslims would suffer as much as Hindus if cows were slaughtered. Muslims were not bound by their religion to slaughter cows on the Id.

In November 1890, there was a report from Fatehpur (Rajasthan) that the Raja had issued orders to all the Thanedars in his territory to prevent the sale of cows to a Muslim or to a Hindu not known to the authorities. These orders also prohibited export of cows beyond the borders of the Raja's territory.

In the beginning of 1891, some men of the 36th Sikh Regiment at Ludhiana made an attempt to prevent cows being taken to the local slaughter house. This is the only reported

incident of the involvement of soldiers in the cow-protection movement of this period.

The events at the village of Pind Dadan Khan in Jhelum district during the years 1891-92, were an illustration of the kind of tensions that developed between Hindus and Muslims at this time, and the way they were sorted out. On 7 April 1891 the Hindus of Pind Dadan Khan met to protest against a butcher being granted a licence to kill cattle during a local Fair, called the Choha Saidan Shah Fair. The Vice President of the Municipal Committee and its members and other leading Hindus were the leaders of this agitation. About 400 people were present at the meeting. The meeting resolved to send telegrams to the Lt. Governor of the Punjab and to the Deputy Commissioner asking that cow slaughter be stopped. It was also decided that in the meantime Hindus would not go to the fair nor visit the shrine at that place.

In late April the Hindus of Pind Dadan Khan refused to take medicines from a Muslim doctor and also meat from a Muslim butcher as a protest. In June, the Hindus refused to purchase soap manufactured by Muslims as they believed it was made from beef fat. The Muslims declined to sell milk to the Hindu halwais. In December, the Muslim butchers of Pind Dadan Khan who had suffered on account of the boycott by the Hindus requested them to stop Jhatka killing for meat and persuaded them to once again buy meat from the Muslim butchers. In the meantime, a mochi and a few other Muslims filed a case in the local Magistrate's Court to stop Hindus from killing animals by the Jhatka method.

By the end of March 1892, the Hindus and Muslims of Pind Dadan Khan came to an understanding that the beef butchers would have nothing to do with selling other meat. By late 1892, the issue had been settled amicably.

In May 1891 a Pleader of Amritsar published, in a local

newspaper, the prospectus of a company for the preservation of cows. This prospectus stated that the profits from using 100 bighas of land as grazing land for cattle and from the sale of milk and young stock were likely to be more than the profits from using that land for ordinary cultivation.

By November 1891 the agitation against cow-killing had become so widespread that even school children were affected. A Rawalpindi newspaper carried a report of the Hindu students of a Mission School complaining to the Headmaster about one of the students carrying beef openly inside the school. When the Headmaster failed to take note of their complaint, the boys stayed away from school. The Headmaster insisted that if the students did not come back to school, their names would be struck off the rolls. This incident greatly agitated the Hindus of Rawalpindi.

Hindus who were directly or indirectly involved in cow-killing were taken to task. A Rawalpindi newspaper in an article published in November 1892 said that Hindu papers which published advertisements about the sale of beef were equal to butchers and "came under the category of the eighth kind of butchers mentioned by Manu". By the end of 1892 the impact of the movement against cow-killing was felt as far away as Peshawar.

By the middle of 1893, the cow-protection movement seemed to reach a peak. In August, a Delhi newspaper reported that riots between Hindus and Muslims were becoming frequent along with the growing agitation and increase in the formation of Gaurakshini Sabhas. Muslims perceived this agitation as an effort to deprive them of their religious rights which had been protected by the British rule. Therefore, there seemed to be an increase in the sacrifice of cows by the Muslims. *An Amritsar paper remarked that Government encouraged Muslims because Europeans ate beef.* A Lahore news-

paper said that the cow-protection societies, instead of protecting cows, had only intensified the ill-feelings between Hindus and Muslims. *So long as beef formed a part of the food of Europeans it was absurd to expect that cow-slaughter would be stopped. The Editor urged the Hindus to impress on the Muslims in a friendly way that the destruction of cattle had ruined the prosperity of the country.*

The District Superintendent of Police, Delhi, in a letter dated 21 November 1893, to the Commissioner and Superintendent, Delhi Division, enclosed a pamphlet published for a Gaurakshini Sabha in Sonepat. This pamphlet was in the Nagari script and carried the title "Gau Pukar Pushrawali" (An appeal of the cow in verse). *It was originally written by a Muslim named Saddi said to be a poet of Oriya. The pamphlet commenced with a prayer to God that though the author was a Muslim by birth yet he would be delighted to see the cow protected, as India had been devastated.*

II
KASHMIR

The Kashmir State had the most stringent laws against cow-slaughter. In December 1882, it was reported that 800 Muslims had been imprisoned in the Kashmir State during the previous two years for cow-killing. Two butchers of Sialkot Cantonment who used to slaughter cows in the jungle near Jammu were sentenced to five years imprisonment by the Jammu High Court. There are several reports from this period of people, including Europeans, being imprisoned and even put to death for killing cows. In July 1886, it was reported that the Maharaja, at the urgent request of the Government had allowed British troops to be stationed in his ter-

ritories, but afterwards cancelled his order as a result of some European having killed a cow. In October 1886, it was reported that because of the establishment of military stations in Kashmir, cow killing had started there. It was also reported that two Europeans soldiers were hanged by the Kashmir Durbar for shooting a Nilgai, in spite of the protests of the Resident who had reported the matter to the Viceroy. In 1888, several people, including one or two British subjects, accused of cow slaughter were sentenced to life imprisonment. The British Viceroy Ripon was reported as saying that if life imprisonment had always been the punishment allotted to cow killing in Kashmir, the British Government did not need to interfere. In August 1889, there was a report that all the prisoners who were undergoing life sentences for cow slaughter in Kashmir were released on the occasion of the late Maharaja Ranbir Singh's Chaubarsi (fourth death anniversary).

III
UTTAR PRADESH (NWP)

In the late nineteenth century Hindus elected to Municipal Councils attempted to alter municipal regulations governing cow-slaughter. Thus, in 1886 the members of the Allahabad Municipal council, many of whom were members of the Allahabad People's Association, the local Congress organization, passed a temporary byelaw "forbidding kine-slaughter within the municipal limits". It was in 1887 that conflicts over the legality of cow-slaughter reached Allahabad High Court and attracted attention throughout India. In that year, the Allahabad High Court twice overturned lower court decisions which had seemed to offer protection to cows. And it was these decisions which seemed to stir the Hindus of

Allahabad and Uttar Pradesh into action.

In the first case, the Court set aside the conviction of two Muslims. They had been convicted (by a lower court) of committing a public nuisance for slaughtering two cows in a private compound whose broken wall was said to have enabled a Hindu to witness the act.

The second case involved two Muslims who killed a cow in a public place at Tilhar, Shahjahanpur district, on the day of Id. They were convicted under Section 295, Indian Penal Code. The Sessions judge referred the case to the High Court. Section 295 of the IPC stipulated: "Whoever destroys, damages or defiles any place of worship, or any object held sacred by a class of persons, with the intention thereby of insulting the religion of any class of persons, or with the knowledge that any class of persons is likely to consider such destruction, damage or defilement as an insult to their religion, shall be punished with imprisonment." The NWP High Court declared that the cow was not an "object" within the meaning of Section 295, IPC, and that the term was not meant to include animate objects such as cows.

The Hindus of Allahabad were very agitated. A meeting was held to express grief and anger at this decision, and they resolved to petition the Government to extend the provisions of the section to cow-killing. The Allahabad High Court's decisions seemed to end the possibility that cow-slaughter would be prohibited through judicial reviews of existing laws.

This seems to be the beginning of the formation of the Gorakshini Sabha of Allahabad which was to play a pivotal role in the cow-protection movement in UP and Bihar. The movement was to eventually spread to the Shahjehanpur, Lucknow, Kanpur, Ghazipur, Dehradun, Allahabad and Benares districts of the UP. The Arya Samaj branches at Dehradun, Jhansi, Aligarh, Basti and Benares were also very

actively involved.

Hardwar, the famous town on the banks of the Ganga, where lakhs of pilgrims congregated every year, was another important centre of the Gosamrakshana movement. Hardwar had a Gorakshini Sabha which published its own journal. This Sabha was said to be responsible for the spread of Gaurakshini Sabhas in the UP as well as in other regions. Another institution which worked for cow protection was the Bharat Dharm Mahamandal which was founded in Hardwar in 1887.

Sriman Swami, began his campaign at this time on behalf of the Allahabad Gaurakshini Sabha. In 1888 and 1889, Sriman Swami toured extensively and lectured in UP, Bihar, Bengal, Bombay and Madras regions, establishing Gaurakshini Sabhas wherever he went and collecting money for cow-protection. He spoke about the need for a change in the Criminal Law and urged that the Legislature overturn the Allahabad High Court's decision with new legislation. He was able to attract money and influential supporters in various parts of India. A subscription list, which was published in the Indian papers, was headed by the Maharajas of Darbhanga, Hatwa and Bettiah. The Maharaja of Benares had also subscribed, and the Maharaja of Dumraon was interested in the movement. In September 1888, Sriman Swami after holding more than 40 meetings held a meeting in the Calcutta Town Hall. *The Indian newspapers said that all of India was interested in the cow question and it would no longer be possible for the Government to ignore the movement*[8].

---

8 Sriman Swami, a sanyasi from South India, who was to become one of the most important campaigners in the movement against cow-killing. In Bihar, an official referred to him as the "fountain-head" of the movement. *Sriman Swami campaigned in the Punjab in 1891 and 1892 and attended the Allahabad Congress session in 1892. In June 1893, he was reported to be in Lower Bengal trying to mobilise support of Muslims and Christians for cow protection.*

In Uttar Pradesh, several prominent Congressmen were connected with the movement against cow-killing. In Allahabad, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was sympathetic to the movement and in 1889 spoke at the Bharat Dharm Mahamandal and the Prayag Hindu Sabha, both of which had been campaigning for cow-protection. Pandit Malaviya's close associate, Lala Ramcharan Das, the wealthy Allahabad banker and trader who had served on three Congress Reception Committees, was said to be the major local donor to Swami Ala Ram's gausala fund around 1888. Another Congressman, a barrister, was a member of the local Gaurakshini Sabha and attended the 1889 meeting of the Nagpur Sabha. Raja Rampal Singh's *Hindustan Kalakankar* published articles advocating the protection of cows and the Raja presided over cow-protection meetings. After the riots of 1893, two Congress leaders from Lucknow, Ganga Prasad Verma and Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar, investigated the Azamgarh riots. *They published a report in which they concluded that Muslims had killed more cows than usual because of the bungling by the administration.* Dar published a pamphlet titled "An appeal to England..." on the Azamgarh riots. This publication drew an angry response from Charles Crosthwaite, Lt. Governor of NWP. In a letter to the Viceroy of India, dated 8.5.1894, Crosthwaite said: "I have asked the Government of India leave to prosecute Bishan Narayan Dar, the author of 'An appeal to England' and his publishers. As far as these Provinces are concerned, it would by useful to prosecute this man, who does his best to excite Hindu feeling in Azamgarh."

In March 1888, a Muslim Vakil of Lucknow published a pamphlet on cow-killing in which he suggested that the Muslims of India should give up cow-slaughter and sort out their differences with the Hindus. The pamphlet described the steps that should be taken by the Hindus, with the cooperation of

the Muslims, to get the Government to prohibit cow-slaughter. The author pointed out that working together would be to the advantage of both communities.

On the occasion of the Bakar Id of 1888 the Hindus of Ghazipur town of UP, were addressed by Gopalanand Swami, a member of the Banaras Arya Samaj. Following this meeting they assembled in large numbers and attempted to prevent the sacrifice of cows by the Muslims.

By late 1889 the fact that the movement was spreading among the ordinary people and the peasantry drew the attention of the Governor of the North West Provinces. The Chief Secretary to the Government of NWP and Oudh remarked that the movement was no doubt spreading both in depth and breadth. It was perhaps due to this reason that a Commissariat officer from Allahabad was unable to purchase any cattle for the Transport and Artillery.

In 1890, the Hindus of Aligarh boycotted the Muslims for sacrificing cows. Letters were sent out from Aligarh to the Hindus in the neighbouring districts in the UP and the Punjab, urging them to boycott Muslims. Notices were circulated asking Hindus not to dispose off cattle to Muslims. These notices were circulated very widely, each one receiving a note being asked to send out four more. Anyone reading a note and not sending out four copies was cursed with the sin of cow-killing. *At this time several Calcutta newspapers accused the (English) officials of "stirring up the Muslims to insult Hindu religion and thus cause dissension between the two communities, lest they should unite and become politically strong".*

Early in January 1893, there was a riot in the Azamgarh district of UP. A group of Hindus stopped a Muslim who was driving cattle along a public road for delivery to Commissariat contractors and drove the cattle off. The men arrested

by the Police in connection with this were rescued and the Police were beaten up.

By March 1893, Ballia and Azamgarh districts in UP had become important centres of the agitation. In Ballia, a Hindu cloth broker was excommunicated and boycotted for having participated, as usual, along with his gymnastic students in the 1893 Muharram procession. In Gorakhpur, a large group of Hindus took away 300 head of cattle from Muslim butchers at a cattle fair.

By May 1893, the agitation in the NWP was most intense in the Azamgarh, Ballia and Gorakhpur districts. The entire southern and eastern portions of the Azamgarh district, bordering on the districts of Ghazipur and Ballia were affected. Efforts were made to organise Gaurakshini Sabhas in the Azamgarh District. Two large meetings at Azamgarh and Jahanaganj, attended by several thousand Hindus and addressed by Gaurakshini leaders from Ballia, marked the beginning of this phase of the agitation. The second of these meetings put forward the demand that Muslims should give up qurbani (sacrifice of cows). This meeting seems to have decided on direct action to put an end to the practice of cow-sacrifice.

In June, during the Bakar Id serious rioting occurred in the Azamgarh district. The acting District Magistrate of Azamgarh had begun by asking that all thanedars send in lists of villages "likely to riot" on the day of Id. Following this, he directed that Muslims of those villages should be requested to register by June 15 their intention to sacrifice. The orders were said to be meant only for "disturbed" villages and were supposed to apply only to Muslims who had been "sacrificing by established custom" in the past. However, the order went out to all villages, and did not contain within its wording any warning about customary usage. Hindus pro-

tested that many of the large number of Muslims who registered had no "established right to sacrifice". The authorities claimed that the registration process did not imply any "authoritative sanction". But they did not verify the claims of all the Muslims who had registered.

Following this, Hindus from Ballia, Ghazipur and Gorakhpur districts collected in large numbers in several places, to prevent sacrifice of cows. Altogether some 35 cases of "unlawful assembly and rioting" occurred in the Azamgarh District. The most serious riot occurred at the weaving centre of Mau. Here too a very large number of Hindus from surrounding villages and districts assembled. They were confronted by the local Muslims, mainly Julaha-Ansaris. The Police were outnumbered and were unable to control the situation. Several Muslims were killed in the riot which followed. The Hindus took away several cows intended for sacrifice and obtained an agreement signed by several prominent Muslims, not to sacrifice cows in future.

Although official statements said that a dozen or so people had been killed at Mau on the day of Id, according to one observer about 250 men, Hindu and Muslim, were killed. *In Azamgarh, Ballia and Ghazipur districts, large "punitive" police forces were stationed and a tax was levied on the people for the maintenance of that force.*

The Hindus seemed to interfere with the Id sacrifices when they felt that the Government was not enforcing local laws and administrative regulations. *They felt that the attitude of the officials was responsible for the increasing insistence of the Muslims on their right to slaughter cows.* There were some major points of disagreement between the Hindus and the Government:

(1) The number of cows which were "normally" sacrificed. The Hindus pointed out that the 426 notices which were re-

ceived in Azamgarh district from Muslims were far more than the usual number of sacrifices.

(2) Sacrifices in the town of Azamgarh. Hindus pointed out that the Azamgarh Municipal bylaws forbade animal sacrifice "in private homes". The Magistrate ruled that the bylaws did not apply to Id sacrifices.

According to one newspaper which reported on the Azamgarh riots, the Magistrate of Azamgarh had been instructed by the Divisional Commissioner that only goats and sheep should be sacrificed in Hindu populated areas, and any attempt to violate the agreement or to parade animals for slaughter should be severely punished. The Magistrate had not followed these instructions. The riots in the village Mau, which happened around this time is a clear illustration of how the relationship between the Hindus and Muslims was affected by the British presence.

Such was the impact of the Gaurakshini agitation in this region that in Ghazipur the Hindu villagers came out in strength to prevent individual cases of cow-killing. In July 1893, at the village of Maupara, near the police station of Nandganj, large numbers of Hindus gathered to prevent a Muslim resident from killing a cow for a wedding feast. The arrival of armed police dispersed the gathering. However they returned the next morning to renew their demonstration and thus prevented the slaughter of the cow for the feast.

In 1894 the British government was still anticipating unrest. For the Bakar Id festival of 1894 troops were moved from Faizabad to Gorakhpur, Azamgarh and Mau, from Allahabad to Ballia, and from Benares to Ghazipur.

Newspapers from all over the country reported and commented on the Azamgarh riots. Some of the papers talked about the riots as a natural consequence of the divide and rule policy of the British administration. The Magistrates be-

ing Europeans and so beef eaters, had only encouraged the Muslims to slaughter cows. This attitude ultimately led to quarrels and bloodshed. The Government's decision to station the military at Azamgarh after the riots at the cost of the Hindus, was compared to the Jizia tax of Aurangzeb. After the riots at Azamgarh, a large number of Hindus had been arrested, and many Hindus had been sent to jail. There was great unrest in the NWP.

A newspaper from Bombay pointed out that riots between Hindus and Muslims did not occur in the Native States - not even in the Muslim state of Hyderabad. They occurred only in the British territory. A newspaper from Madhya Pradesh blamed the English newspapers for publishing false accounts of the riots which only worsened the situation.

The Story of Mau : The Bungling by the British Administration in Mau

Azamgarh 1893

Mau was an old cloth manufacturing centre in the Azamgarh district known at least since the days of Akbar for the production of particular kinds of cloth. In the nineteenth century, a large proportion of the population of Mau consisted of Muslim weavers and Hindu spinners, traders and businessmen belonging to various castes. Mau became an important centre for cotton cloth industry and trade. Clashes over the issue of cow-slaughter could possibly have taken place in Mau even before British rule. When the British took over the administration of the region, there had already been a ban on cow-slaughter in the town of Mau. But the new British administration introduced a new uncertainty. Within five years, in 1806, there were serious riots between the Hindus and Muslims of Mau. As a consequence, in 1808 the Nizamat Adawlat

passed an order declaring that "the sacrifice of cows, calves and bullocks by Muslims was not permitted under [the previous] Government of the [Muslim] Nawab Wazeer, in consequence of the religious abhorrence of the Hindu inhabitants to such sacrifices". Based on this order the Governor General in Council had issued an order, "sanctioning the prohibition as a special measure of all cow sacrifices" in the town of Mau. Local Hindus believed that the order applied not merely to cow "sacrifices" but to all cow slaughter. In the early nineteenth century, local officials often enforced the order in the way it was interpreted by the Hindus. But in other periods, local officials agreed with Muslims that the order pertained only to "sacrifices".

Tensions began again in the 1860s. In 1863 some Muslims applied for permission to sacrifice. The Azamgarh Magistrate declared that the Muslims were free to kill cows behind closed doors. Hindus, angered by this decision, petitioned the Magistrate and referred to the Nizamat Adawlat's ruling of 1808. In March 1863, the Magistrate reversed his order. In his notification he said: "Although it did not at first appear probable that the killing of kine should have been altogether forbidden ... it appears that in fact ever since the time of the Nawab Vazir, the killing of cows, calves and bullocks was forbidden in this city ... Accordingly this notification of the prohibitory order of the Government is now again issued and no one of the Musalman faith should attempt to kill, or actually kill, cows, calves and bullocks in this city of Mhow".

Muslim appeals against this decision were rejected by a Magistrate and the District Judge. But in 1864 a Joint Magistrate acquitted a number of Julahas charged with the slaughter of a cow on the ground that the cow was killed for food, inside a house, "with no intention of wounding the religious

feelings of the Hindus". Soon after this there were a number of cases against Hindus charged with assaulting Muslims on the issue of cow-slaughter. In all these cases, the Magistrate convicted the Hindu accused, holding that the Muslims were free to slaughter cows for food. However the Judge, holding the view that slaughter was forbidden, acquitted the Hindus on appeal. The only exception to this pattern was a case in which the Judge upheld a heavy prison sentence against some Hindus for forcibly appropriating a cow from its Muslim owner, since "no cow-slaughter had actually occurred, and ... there was no proof that the cow in question had been intended for slaughter". Tensions remained high over this issue. The Magistrate imposed a punitive police force, maintained at the expense of the Hindus.

Then in 1865 the Magistrate authorised construction of a slaughter house, where cows might be killed for food "without offence to the Hindus". Prohibition on cow sacrifice remained in effect. This led to intense unhappiness of the local Hindus. The Hindu community refused to accept this decision and appealed to the Lt. Governor of the NWP, the Viceroy of India and the Secretary of State for India. They argued that the erection of a slaughter house in 1865 had been an emergency measure, necessitated by hard times and high grain prices. The Hindu community had accepted this decision beyond the originally sanctioned period of one year, only because they had no objection to the killing of buffaloes and other animals, but not cows, for food.

In 1885 the then Magistrate of Azamgarh, while convicting three Muslims of Mau for the public killing of a cow, expressed his own opinion that the original Government order of 1808 prohibited the slaughter of cows for sacrifice alone and not for food. To this the Hindus replied that it was obviously not the government's intention in 1808 to ban cow-

slaughter "once or twice a year and to allow it all the year round". In response to other official arguments, the Hindus pointed out that it was not relevant whether Mau had a larger Hindu or Muslim population, or, whether or not it was a place of special sanctity to the Hindus. What was at issue was "an old custom sanctioned by the Mahomedan rulers" which had been the basis of peace between Hindus and Muslims through the better part of the nineteenth century. The Hindus also pointed out that the peace of the whole town of Mhow depended upon a "just and equitable decision of this question".

In 1886 Hindus again petitioned the government, objecting to any slaughter of cows in Mau. The District Commissioner of Benaras supported the distinction made in 1865 between sacrifice and slaughter for food. The Government decided to permit Muslims to move the site of the slaughterhouse which had fallen into disuse. This annoyed the Hindus further. The riots of 1893 were only the culmination of a dispute that began with the beginning of the British rule.

IV
CENTRAL INDIA – MADHYA PRADESH AND MAHARASHTRA

By late 1888 the movement had spread to Central India. In Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra, Mahratta Brahmin pleaders who were the supporters of the Congress were also important supporters of the cow-protection movement. The Gaurakhsha Sabha at Nagpur, which was to become the most important Sabha in Central India was started in 1887 and was becoming very active by this time. *The Nagpur Sabha was said to have been responsible for reducing the number of cows slaughtered annually in Nagpur from 16,000 in 1887 to*

less than 500 in 1892. This Sabha had its own press and newspaper. The second anniversary of the founding of the Nagpur Sabha was celebrated in 1889. *Sriman Swami of the Allahabad Central Gosamrakshana Sabha was the chief guest. He was showered with flowers on his way from the Nagpur railway station. The Sabha had organised a procession through the streets of the town, which was led by 452 cattle purchased from local butchers. The procession included elephants, camels and horses and about 20,000 people participated. Sriman Swami spoke in a public meeting for more than two hours to an audience of 4,000 people.*

In Bombay, a Society for the Preservation of Cows and Buffaloes was started in 1887. In September 1887, the Thakur of Gondal, sent a petition on the issue of cow-slaughter, but the Bombay Government declined to alter the previous orders on the subject. The Bombay cow-protection society was said to be responsible for Gondal's petition. In a letter to the Secretary of State for India in London Viceroy Dufferin commented: "In reply to a query contained in your letter of the 21st of September, I have to say that we know nothing about Gondal and his cows... However, such prohibition exists in many native states. *Even the Muhammadans do not kill cows in Rajpootana, and our soldiers at Mount Abu have to do without beef in deference to Hindu prejudice, so that if Gondal chooses to legislate in the sense proposed, I do not think we can interfere."*

Later in the year 1888, a branch of the Bombay cow-protection society was started at Poona. In December 1888, the Bombay Society held a demonstration on the day of Viceroy Lansdowne's arrival in Bombay, and displayed banners with the following slogans: "The cow is the wealth of India", "The cow is a part of India's family", "No happiness for Indian people without the cow", "The cow is India's foster mother",

"God bless the cow" etc.

In Bombay the Goraksha Mandali was supported by many important people. Dinshaw Petit, well-known Parsi businessman was the President of the Mandali in 1893. *Several other Parsis as well as some wealthy Khoja Muslims supported the Mandali.* There were many prominent people on its Managing committee including 35 justices of the peace. K.T. Telang, a founder of the Indian National Congress publicly supported the cow-protection movement.

Towards the end of 1888, the agitation was reported to be very active in Madhya Pradesh. The movement had also extended to the province of Berar. In July 1889, Sriman Swami was touring in the Bombay Presidency to mobilise public support and collect funds for the movement. At Bombay, K.T. Telang proposed a resolution of support for the movement which was seconded by the Sheriff of Bombay.

In the beginning of 1890, there was a report from Kotah, of distribution of chapattis along with an order to people to stop selling cattle to anyone. In March 1892, there was again circulation of lotas from village to village in the Sonthal Pargannas, and among the Gonds of Madhya Pradesh. This too seemed to be connected to the cow-protection movement.

At this time, Government reports referred to an institution known as the Giara Panch or Eleven Panches, which existed in Indore and consisted of the banias of Agarwal, Oswal, Maheswari and Sarogi clans. These Panches were bankers and the most important traders of Indore. They maintained a gausala for ownerless and infirm cows. They also undertook to purchase cows at fairs etc. so as to prevent them from being purchased by butchers. *Henvey, agent to the Governor-General in Central India, referring to a riot at Indore in 1890, wrote about the power of this organisation of the traders of Indore: "The facts disclosed... show the dangerous nature of*

the cow-preservation movement that has flourished for some time past in different parts of India, and exemplify how it is possible for a crowd of Baniahs to find it easy when their religious feelings have been sufficiently played upon... to incite... the followers, whom the Indore state permits them to employ, to mob the Minister of a powerful Hindu State and set his authority at defiance, and finally to compel the Maharaja of Indore and his Darbar to submit to a questionable compromise..."

A report at this time on the movement in the Central Provinces showed that 44 societies for cow-protection existed there. The most active campaigners were a group of Mahratta Brahmin Pleaders, and some Marwaris. Various activists including Arya Samaj members, were visiting different parts of the Central Provinces and also the States in Bundelkhand.

In August 1890, the Hindus of Belgaum, in the Bombay Presidency boycotted the Muslims during the Muharram. It was customary for the Hindus to participate in the Muharram festivities. *By September 1890, the local Gaurakshini Sabhas had created difficulties for Commissariat contractors in the Belgaum District and at Jabbalpur and Mhow, by stopping cattle being taken for slaughter. By this time the movement had also extended to Rewa State, and a Society was formed there consisting of 36 of the Rewa Thakurs with a Rewa State Mukhtar as its head. This was followed by the circulation of a petition signed by the Maharani of Rewa, the Raja of Sohawal (Bagelkhand Agency) and many others asking for the abolition of the slaughter houses at Satna.*

During the whole of the year 1890, the movement was reported to be particularly active in the Maharatta country. The members of the Arya Samaj who had been very active in the movement all along, travelled to the Bombay and Madras Presidencies also. In June, *in a report on the Nagpur*

Gaurakshini Sabha, the Government of the Central Provinces mentioned that the establishment of Gaurakshini Sabhas all over the country had made it difficult for butchers to obtain cattle for slaughter. This certainly affected the availability of beef for the British army and the civilians.

In August 1891, the Commissariat at Kamptee in Central Provinces experienced difficulties in obtaining supplies of beef for the troops. Clearly the Gaurakshini Sabhas had been successful in their campaign to prevent cattle from reaching the Commissariat. Throughout the year 1891, the agitation was active in the Madhya Pradesh region. The Arya Samaj Branches in Benares and Ajmer were very active. By the end of 1891 people also began looking to the Congress for help in stopping the slaughter of cows throughout the country. In the Berar region, Congress activists were involved in the cow-protection movement. After the session of the National Congress in December 1891 at Nagpur, the members of the Gaurakshini Sabha held a meeting within the Congress pavillion. This meeting was attended by more than 1,000 persons including some Congress delegates. Important Congress delegates addressed the meeting and collections were made on behalf of the Gosamrakshana movement.

By 1893 the movement in Central India had spread to the rural areas and involved large numbers of peasants. Petitions from the Madhya Pradesh region sent to the British in 1893 were signed overwhelmingly by people who described themselves as tenant-farmers.

In April, the Bombay Sabha in their annual meeting resolved to petition the Government of India to extend the area for grazing purposes to reserve forests and also to stop "the wanton and wholesale" slaughter of cows.

By late 1893, a representative of the Bombay Sabha was able to compel the Minister of the Baroda State to cancel an

order that had been issued for the destruction of certain half-wild cattle, which were injuring crops in the districts. In the Bombay Presidency, frequent complaints were made by Commissariat officers about the interference of the Hindus with the purchase of cattle for slaughter for the troops.

V
THE MOVEMENT IN BIHAR

Background – The Gorakshini Sabha

As in the other regions, in Bihar also the movement was spread by a large number of Gorakshini Sabhas, some of them organised carefully and meticulously. In every district of Bihar, there were many campaigners from outside that district, the so-called "foreign agitators". Most of these were from the Benares region, some however, also came from Allahabad, Gorakhpur, Ballia, Hardwar etc. In particular, there were large numbers of "wandering Sabhas", sometimes in groups of a hundred or more. These large groups campaigned against cow-killing and raised subscriptions for the movement. The most important speakers and campaigners who went from district to district and covered the whole of Bihar were: Sriman Swami, Ala Ram Swami, Hansas Swarup Swami, Gopalanand Swami, Pandit Jagat Narain, Powari Baba of Gorakhpur, and Jagdeo Bahadur of Ballia. In Bettiah, Nagas and Powaris, two orders of Sadhus played a major role in the campaign. In Saran, Powari Baba and his disciples were important in the agitation.

The most important year for the movement in Bihar was 1888, when almost all the districts were visited by either Sriman Swami, Ala Ram Swami or Pandit Jagat Narain. This gave a great boost to the movement. The Sonepur Fair (mela)

and other fairs were also visited by lecturers campaigning for cow-protection. This led to the formation of new Sabhas at several district headquarters. Fairs and markets were important centres for the campaign since large crowds gathered who could be easily addressed in one place. If cattle were sold in these fairs and if butchers purchased cattle, the people who had gathered could be asked to intervene readily. The Sonepur Mela in the Saran District, drew over two lakh people every year. It was also the venue of a major cattle trade market. *In November 1889, the campaign by a Gaurakshini Sabha at the Sonepur Fair made it impossible for the Commissariat at Dinapore to purchase cattle for killing for beef.*

A look at lists of office-bearers of the Gaurakshini Sabhas who were variously called *sabhasads, muharrirs, tahsildars, piyadas* in Bihar shows a variety of people, representing all sections of the society: Rajas and zamindars, Municipality Chairmen and Municipal Commissioners, wealthy traders and Marwari merchants, school teachers and Government Pleaders. There was a noticeable involvement of Government officials in the movement. In Gaya a Deputy Collector and Munsif were successive Vice-Presidents of the Sabha. At Chapra the Collectorate Sharistadar received visiting lecturers. Over 50 percent of the subscriptions of the Madhubani Sabha were contributed by government servants. Government Pleaders and employees of Education and Postal Departments joined the movement in large numbers.

Initially all the Sabhas were supported by voluntary contributions, big and small. As a Sabha became well-established and active, and as its activities became widespread, every single Hindu or Hindu family was obliged to contribute in one of the many ways described later. Refusal to contribute was considered equivalent to killing a cow or eating cow's

meat. Zamindars gave large amounts directly to the Sabhas. Speakers collected donations from their audiences.

Muslims were often openly sympathetic to the movement. When the Darbhanga Sabha advertised for employing a speaker, a Muslim from Azamgarh in the NWP had applied for the job. Some of Swami Ala Ram's meetings were attended by Muslims including Maulvis. Hindu-Muslim unity was normally seen in Bihar during the Muslim festival of Muharram, when both communities took part in the procession. Hindus assisted with various preparations and with the procession itself. When tensions developed between the two communities in connection with cow-killing the Hindus often took to boycotting the Muharram festival.

There were tensions between Hindus and Muslims from time to time during this period. It was likely that poor Muslims, who were said to eat beef instead of goat's meat because beef was cheaper, were directly affected by the Gosamrakshana movement. On the other hand, Hindus felt that Government generally and some officers in particular were strongly inclined to favour Muslims. In support of this they pointed to the fact that as a rule all native subdivisional officers in Bihar were Muslims.

Darbhanga

The earliest attempt to form a Gaurakshini Sabha in Bihar during this period was made in January 1885 in Darbhanga. The leading spirits of this effort were two brothers, both Municipal Commissioners, who issued a circular, asking for aid in protecting cows. However this attempt did not materialise into a proper organisation until 1888, when Pandit Jagat Narain helped in the organisation of a Gaurakshini Sabha. By September of 1888, the Maharaja of Darbhanga had become the chief patron of the Sabha. Within two years, by means of a campaign in support of Gosamrakshana, Sabhas were opened

at Tajpur, Madhubani, Rosera and Dalsingserai in Darbhanga and at Lalganj, Hajipur and Sitamarhi in Muzaffarpur. The Sabha at Sitamarhi began as a branch of the Madhubani Sabha which was also responsible for the starting of another Sabha at Partabganj. Gausalas were started by all the branches.

The Darbhanga Sabha was running two large gausalas, each containing 200-300 cattle. Representatives were sent out to campaign and public notices were issued by the Sabhas, particularly by the Madhubani Sabha. *In Darbhanga town, in every mohalla there were readers of Ramayan and Bhagwat. Presumably these readings, particularly Bhagwat readings were also means through which public sentiment was mobilised for the proection of cows.*

The President of the Darbhanga Sabha, the Maharaja of Darbhanga was said to have been approached by the Nagpur Sabha who requested him to accept the leadership of all the Sabhas in Bihar, UP and MP. The Maharaja subscribed generously to the Sabha. Meetings of the Sabha were frequently held in his private office. For large gatherings a pavillion was erected in his compound.

Madhubani Gaurakshini Sabha

The Madhubani Sabha, was started in 1888 by some Madhubani school boys who went to the Sonepur Mela. There they met a number of Pandits from Benaras who spoke about Gosamrakshana. This meeting made a deep impression on these boys. On their return to Madhubani they decided to start a Gaurakshini Sabha. They were helped in this effort by a prominent man of Madhubani. The Sabha was inaugurated with a meeting in December 1888.

By 1893, the Madhubani Sabha was the most active Sabha in all of Bihar. It was corresponding with almost every other Sabha in Bihar and with the Nagpur Sabha which was one of

the centres of the movement. The Madhubani Sabha was responsible for starting a Sabha in Sitamarhi. Between December 1888 and September 1893 the Sabha held 50 meetings, practically one every month. In these meetings, the Sabha's objectives, activities, organisation, all these were looked into. These meetings were said to be well-attended. Besides these regular meetings, the Sabha also celebrated special occasions during which lectures were delivered by scholars who were invited from all over Bihar and UP. Delegates from every Gaurakshini Sabha in Bihar attended these meetings.

The sabha was presided over by men of influence in Madhubani region. In 1893, one of the Joint-Secretaries, a teacher in the Government-aided Middle Vernacular School and a very active supporter of the Gausamrakshana movement, was responsible for much of the work. He prepared the accounts and kept the books of the Sabha, prepared the minutes of the meetings and drafted the resolutions, did the correspondence, guided the travelling lecturers, supervised the gausala and also supervised the treasurer's work. He did all this without any remuneration. He was said to be the "mainstay" of the Sabha. The officials felt that "he should certainly be told that he cannot attend to his duties as a teacher and work the Gorakshini Sabha at the same time" and that he "should be at once removed to another place, and warned to devote himself to his legitimate work".

Gaya

The earliest organisation of a Gorakshini Sabha took place in Gaya in 1887, when a zamindar of Bengali origin started a Gaurakshini Sabha. For the next two years or so, it was supported by voluntary subscriptions. For quite sometime the officials seem to have considered its objects "perfectly legitimate and indeed humane and laudable". The Gosamrakshana

movement received a great impetus from a visit to the district in 1889, by Sriman Swami, whom the Government referred to later as a "firebrand". He delivered several lectures on the sacredness and the economic importance of the cow. *There was such a great response to his lectures in Gaya that even an important Muslim Maulvi gave his support to the movement.* Sriman Swami's visit led to the founding, in October 1889, of a large gausala on a site gifted by the Raja of Tikari. Representatives of the Sabha began to go out to spread the message of Gosamrakshana - the importance of protecting the cow and the sin of selling the cow to butchers or middlemen. These representatives also collected contributions for the gausala.

In early 1889, an address (*Manapatra*) was presented to the Maharaja of Jaipur who was then visiting Gaya, on behalf of the Gaya Gaurakshini Sabha. Another *Manapatra* was presented to the Maharaja of Mysore, when he visited Gaya around the same time.

In 1889, the Brahmans of Kabar in Tikari tried to stop the cow-sacrifice during Bakar Id. In 1891, there was a serious riot in the town of Gaya on Bakar Id day due to the parading through the Hindu quarter of a sacrificial cow by some Muslims. The riot subsided after the Hindus were allowed to buy back the cow. The officials were of the view that the Gaurakshini Sabha could not be held directly responsible for what took place, "though no doubt its teachings had done much to excite public feeling on the subject". *With reference to this incident, the District Magistrate reported later that the the Gyawals (priests) who had "pilgrimage agents" in many places, in particular in the Rajputana states and in Benaras, had contacted them after the riot and mobilised them against cow-killing.*

By March 1893, there was a rise of militant opposition to

cow slaughter. This according to the Government reports was attributable mainly to the "violent and inflammatory language" used by the representatives of the Gaurakshini Sabhas who went to cattle fairs to discourage the sale of cattle to butchers. The Government tried to keep the militancy in check by posting additional Police in the different places where disturbances occurred from time to time.

In September 1893, the District Superintendent of Police, Gaya pointed out: "...I believe many of them (Muslims) would have no objection to join in a general agreement not to slaughter cattle at all."

Saran

In Saran, a Sanatan Dharmi Pracharani Sabha was founded in 1880 by a sub-judge of Chapra. This Sabha was reorganised to form the first Gaurakshini Sabha at Chapra in 1887. During the Sonepur Fair of 1888 a mass meeting was held on the banks of the Mahanadi. The Maharaja of Hatwa presided over this meeting and Pandit Jagat Narain of Allahabad, who was one of the important campaigners against cow-killing, delivered a lecture. Pandit Jagat Narain visited Chapra every year and helped organise the Gosamrakshana movement. Various office bearers were appointed and a speaker was sent out on a campaign. Regular meetings were held in 1890 and 1891. Regular accounts were maintained and a gausala was built, where cattle turned over to the Sabha were protected. This went on until 1892.

In May of 1893 the movement became revitalised. Jagdeo Bahadur of Ballia, a well-known campaigner against cow-killing, came to Saran District with a group of a couple of hundred people and held meetings at various places. At these meetings, people were asked to rescue cattle from butchers at any cost. In June, other campaigners toured the district

and lectured and funds were raised for gausalas. In early July, the Rani of Majhauli, who took up the issue of Gosamrakshana with great vigour had various meetings held on the issue. The Rani had representatives who bought cattle from butchers and these cattle were distributed free to Ahirs and others on her estate. She also promised to give local butchers rent-free lands if they would give up their trade in cattle.

Tension was building up between the Hindu and Muslim communities. One Ramnath Singh, one of the campaigners of the movement compelled a butcher to give up a buffalo which had been bought for slaughter. The local police seemed to have helped in this. Ramnath Singh was convicted and sentenced to imprisonment for four years for "cattle rescue". On 20 August, another meeting was held at Maharajganj, for the purpose of inaugurating branch Sabhas in the interior of the district.

The biggest riot in the district took place at Basantpur. Basantpur lay on the main road which connected Champaran district to Chapra. It was this road which was used to transport cattle purchased in Champaran for the Commissariat at Dinapore in the Patna district. On 26 August, at a mass meeting at Basantpur, people were asked to rescue cattle and resist the police if necessary. On 29 August, Muslim butchers taking a number of cattle for slaughter entered the Saran district. A large group of Hindus stopped them and tried to take away the cattle. On 2 September, the cattle were escorted by the police to a grove near the Basantpur police station. On 6 September, the police inspector at Basantpur was told that the cows would not be allowed to leave and that the butchers should be made to accept a price for the cattle. He was also told that some sadhus had been fasting to get the cattle released. By that evening, the cattle were moved to the station compound. By then a large crowd, of more than two thou-

sand people had gathered at the police station. Police fired on the crowd, killing two and wounding several.

According to the Magistrate who investigated into the incident: "*The incident ... can only be described as a widespread and determined revolt against the constituted authorities. ...such entire disregard of consequences, by whole communities I have never before met with.*" *Prior to this incident, the people of the locality seemed to feel that " a wind has come from the west, and Ram been born, and the Hindu Raj is at hand".*

Shahabad

In Shahabad the first Sabha was started in 1888. Following this, others were started in Sasaram, Nasriganj and Bhabua. Each one of these Sabhas also started a gausala for old and unproductive cattle. Each Sabha passed on to others cattle which it could not accommodate. The Sabhas, according to Government Reports, appeared "to have kept within their ostensible and legitimate objects".

A riot occurred at the Berhampur Cattle Fair in April 1890. A group of Hindus under the leadership of Gopalanand Swami of the Benaras Arya Samaj took away cattle purchased by some butchers. Again in May 1891, there was a major riot at the Berhampur Cattle Fair. A large number of Hindus armed with lathis attacked the butchers taking cattle for the Commissariat at Dinapore. There was police firing to disperse the crowd. About 150 head of cattle were driven off. Gopalanand Swami was arrested and imprisoned for two years.

In August 1893, a new method of mobilising the public was noticed. Patias or chain letters, kept circulating in very large numbers all over the Shahabad District, particularly in Sasaram and Bhabua. These Patias urged the Hindus not to sell cattle to butchers and to boycott Muslims, not even em-

ploy them as "law agents". At the end of August there was a riot at Koath, where a sacred bull was killed by butchers. Here the Patias circulated with such great speed and secrecy that a crowd of over 1000 men collected within 24 hours. As a consequence of the riot, a large contingent of Additional Police was stationed at Koath and 46 other villages.

Champaran

A Gorakshini Sabha was established at Bettiah by Sriman Swami in 1888. The Bettiah Sabha was run under the guidance of the Allahabad Sabha. The Raja of Bettiah subscribed Rs. 2000 to the Sabha. The Sabha was assisted by officials of the Bettiah Raj. A gausala was maintained. It was reported from Bettiah that the entire Kayasth community was with the movement.

Muzaffarpur District

In this District, there were three Sabhas: Sitamarhi (originally a branch Sabha of the Madhubani Sabha of the Darbhanga district); Hajipur and Lalganj. All the three Sabhas maintained gausalas and regular contributions were raised from all Hindus. The movement was supported by wealthy zamindars and Marwaris.

Patna

In Patna, there were two Gaurakshini Sabhas. The larger was founded in 1888 and run by rich Marwaris. It had a large gausala. The other Sabha was run by a zamindar and had no gausala.

There were a few incidents which brought out the developing tension between Hindus and Muslims: In 1892, near Fatuha, a cow which was being taken for sacrifice at Bakar Id was taken away by a group of Hindus from the owner's house. Five men were convicted by the Sub Divisional officer of Barh.

In April 1893, villagers of Mashaurdi stopped the butchers who were driving cattle into Dinapore for the Commissariat and took away the animals. And in June 1893, there was a serious riot at Hilsa on Bakar Id day.

By October 1893, according to the Commissioner of Patna Division, there were a total of 23 Sabhas in his Division. Gaya had 8 Sabhas, Darbhanga and Shahabad had 4 each, Muzaffarpur had 3, Patna had 2 and Saran and Champaran had one Sabha each. According to the report of the Commissioner of Patna Division: "The most energetic Sabhas, and those which travel most beyond legitimate aims, appear to be those of Chapra, Darbhanga, Madhubani and Sitamarhi".

VI
FUNCTIONING AND FUNDING OF GAURAKSHINI SABHAS (Especially in Bihar)

The Gaurakshini Sabha had an elaborate organisation. Each village had one or more *Sabhasads* or representatives. These representatives collected contributions in cash and kind. A group of villages was placed under a *Sabhapati*. A whole District was under a *Sadar Sabhapati*.

Land for the gausala as well as for the grazing of the cattle kept in the gausala were donated by the wealthy members of the Sabha. Besides regular monthly subscriptions from the members, donations were collected in many different and innovative ways. *A chutki, or pinch equal to one paisa in weight or value of food stuff per member of a household at each meal daily, was set aside. Representatives of the Sabha collected and took care of these heaps for a whole village and when a sufficient amount had been collected, the whole of the grain was sold and the money was given to the Sabha.* In

some places, bankers, traders and others paid 20 percent of their assessments on account of the "Pandri" tax as a contribution to the Gaurakshini fund. Government servants paying income tax voluntarily contributed one pie per rupee of their income to the fund. Persons having transactions with bankers and money-lenders were invited to give small donations according to their means. Collection boxes were placed in shops and other public places into which people were encouraged to drop contributions. Pleaders made their rich clients contribute. In certain towns, a standard fee was collected on all transactions as a contribution to the fund. In others, fees were levied on sales of grain, cotton, oil, lac, cloth etc., at fixed rates. In some others, fees were levied on cloth going out, and on every cart of grain coming into the town. In rural districts, a certain proportion of all grain sold was set aside for the benefit of the fund, and fees were levied on ploughs from every cultivator. Fodder for the gausalas was provided free by surrounding villages, at each harvest. Gausalas also made a little income from the sale of manure and the fee charged for the services of bulls. Contributions were also levied on various ceremonies, such as marriages, adoptions, etc., on entertainments and on festive occassions. The funds thus collected were used to build gausalas, to buy cows from butchers and markets in order to prevent them from being killed, and to pay the expenses of the representatives of the Sabhas and lecturers who campaigned on behalf of the Sabhas.

On behalf of the Gaurakshini Sabhas speakers went from place to place and lectured on the Gosamrakshana movement and collected subscriptions. These lecturers spoke about the glory of the Hindu kingdoms of the past when there was no cow-slaughter, and appealed to Hindus to protect the cow, by distributing pamphlets, leaflets and pictures of the Gaumata. The Nagpur Gaurakshini Sabha, perhaps the most important

Sabha in Central India, organised classes to train selected candidates as lecturers. Often, Hindu speakers and pamphlets and newspapers stressed that cow-protection was the supreme Dharma of the Hindu and that if this Dharma was violated, the country would be afflicted by disease, floods, famine, etc.

The Gaurakshini Sabhas sent representatives to fairs and markets where cattle were sold, in order to outbid butchers and also to detect and punish Hindus who violated the rules of the Sabha. Hindus were forbidden from putting any cows in Government cattle pounds. All cows had to be brought to the nearest Gaurakshini Sabha or gausala.

In the major melas of the different regions where large crowds of Hindus gathered, the representatives of the Sabhas campaigned. For example, the Magh Mela of Allahabad was a very major and important mela of the UP region for such mobilisation.

In the UP region by late 1893, the Gaurakshini Sabhas were running their own courts to try offenders of the Sabha rules. Offenders were boycotted, outcasted, and fined. *Special courts were set up to try persons who sold cattle to Muslims, the Commissariat, or to anyone who supplied cattle to butchers.* At this time, the Government felt that the Gauraksha Sabhas planned to ignore the jurisdiction of the Criminal Courts – they had planned to deal with offenders, whether convicted by the Courts or not, by imposing penalties. The funds raised from these penalties went to the support of the Sabhas' activities. Payments were enforced by bringing in pressure through caste organisations. If the accused did not "admit the jurisdiction of the Sabha" by paying penalties, they would be turned out of caste.

A Gaurakshini Sabha had listed the following as offences which applied to both Hindus and Muslims: Letting a cow loose; taking a cow to the Government pound; not subscrib-

ing to the Sabha; castrating an ox; selling a female buffalo; selling cattle to unknown persons; selling cattle to butchers, or anyone else who may sell them to butchers; taking any cow or old ox to certain melas: for all these offences, a fine equivalent to the value of 10 cows was to be collected and the guilty person was to be considered an outcaste and turned out of his village. Some Sabhas such as the Gorakhpur Gorakshini Sabha warned against excessive expenditure on marriages and restricted the maximum number of persons in a *barat* and number of rupees to be spent on *tilak* ceremonies.

Some Sabhas also conducted formal trials to try offences. For instance, in the trial of Gao Maharani versus Sita Ram Ahir of Haldi, Sita Ram was tried for impounding a cow in the Government pound. The cow was sold from the pound by auction to a butcher for Rs. 10. Sita Ram Ahir was ordered to buy back the cow and then he was made to stand trial before the Sabha. Sita Ram pleaded guilty, and was sentenced to a fine of Rs. 4-8-0. When he refused to pay the fine, he was brought before the Sadar Sabha (District Sabha) and sentenced to 24 days of outcasting and various other penalties.

In the trial of Gao Maharani versus Sheo Lochan who was tried for impounding a cow in the Government pound, Sheo Lochan was sentenced to 12 days of outcasting with other penalties and to pay a fine of 8 cows. Default was punishable by four times the above penalties. Anyone abetting his default was to pay half the fine.

In the trial of Gao Maharani versus Ram Bhavan, tried on a charge of "inducing people to act contrary to the Sabha's orders", Ram Bhavan was sentenced to a fine of Rs. 10, to be paid towards the gausala fund, and to 15 days of outcasting.

In Bihar, the organisation of the Sabhas, their functioning, their methods of raising funds etc. differed little from the sabhas

in the other regions. Campaigns were undertaken by each Sabha separately and different Sabhas seemed to run different campaigns. Each local Sabha had its own representatives and speakers who also campaigned and raised funds. The campaigners from outside were provided help and places to stay by local zamindars, Rajas and Ranis. Sometimes Government officials or local Dharmsalas also played host to outsiders. There were occasions when campaigners from outside Bihar region were prevented from campaigning by the authorities and were even arrested. Sometimes Sabhas employed speakers who were paid for their work in the campaign.

Income and Expenditure

In general, Sabhas had an income larger than the expenditure. The expenditure consisted of salaries of the employees, expenses of the speakers both local and outsiders, expenses of running gausalas etc. A considerable sum available with these Sabhas was spent on the defence of persons accused in the "cattle rescue" cases, as well as in writing to newspapers on this subject. Sometimes contributions were also made to important Sabhas like the Sabhas of Allahabad or Nagpur.

In Bihar, the office-bearers and other representatives of the Sabhas collected subscriptions and were responsible for running the Sabha. Some of the Sabhas had fairly large incomes and expenditures. For instance, the Darbhanga Sabha in 1891 had an income of Rs. 4058 and an expenditure of Rs. 2343. The four Sabhas of Shahabad had an annual income of about Rs. 3000 each. The Patna Sabha was said to have a substantial income since it had a large gaụsala. Sitamarhi Sabha had an expenditure of Rs. 900 and a balance of over Rs. 1700. The balance was invested, perhaps with local bankers. Some of the Sabhas, particularly the Madhubani Sabha, which was perhaps one of the most active Sabhas in Bihar

around 1893, when the movement was at its peak, had the reputation of being run very efficiently.

Literature

Representatives of the Sabhas and speakers distributed pamphlets and pictures. Pictures which represented the Gaumata as the abode of all the Gods, were very popular. Sannyasis also occasionally circulated such pamphlets and pictures.

Patias or Chittis which were chain-letters that circulated from hand to hand were a very important means of communication in the agitation, as seen in the Shahabad District of Bihar. These letters came with the message that a recipient was to make a specified number of copies and send them on to as many villages. Not doing so was considered sinful, equivalent to selling a cow for slaughter or killing it or eating cow's meat. A large number of pamphlets urging Hindus not to sell cows to butchers were also part of the agitation. Some of the Chittis forbade Hindus from joining Muharram processions or supplying Muslims with necessities during this festival period.

Many of the presses which printed this literature stood the risk of being closed for carrying on an "illegal" activity, since some of these pamphlets were considered "objectionable", "inflammatory" and so on. A number of pamphlets in circulation were printed at Benaras or Nagpur.

A large amount of literature was issued by the Madhubani Sabha in Bihar. *A newspaper, Gosevak was described by the authorities as "inflammatory" for quoting Muslim opinion against cow-slaughter and advising Muslims to agitate against pig-slaughter.*

Plays about cow-killing were also circulated widely. A drama entitled *Bharat-dimdima Natak* was sold in railway

bookstalls. It linked India's grim economic condition to cow-slaughter.

In the urban areas, economic arguments in support of cow-protection were used to convince the educated, Anglicized Hindus. The cow as Kamadhenu has been a symbol of prosperity for millennia. *By late nineteenth century, the English-educated Indians began to learn that compared to cattle in other countries, Indian cows were sickly and yielded little milk.* It was clear that the agricultural and material prosperity of India was closely linked to the welfare of the cow. Thus many educated Hindus saw and supported the cow-protection movement and the Gaurakshini Sabhas as necessary for the care and improvement of the cattle wealth of India. Cow-killing came to be closely associated with India's poverty. Many arguments were put forward in support of this view. *A pamphlet in Punjab argued that the closing of Government forests to grazing, the rising cost of fodder and the slaughter of cattle for food were threatening the existence of cattle in India.* Without cattle, neither Hindus nor Muslims would be able to till their fields. Mothers would not be able to suckle their children. All Indians, regardless of religion, were urged to realise that unless cattle were protected it meant the end of the Indian people in a very short time. Already the average income had declined to a dangerous level, and thousands of Indians were starving. Another writer cautioned that since milk and grain supplies were dwindling, soon the people of India would be reduced to living on grass, dust and leaves of trees.

VII
BRITISH PERCEPTIONS AND RESPONSES

The British perception of this movement is brought out in a telling manner in a letter from the British Queen Victoria to

Viceroy Lord Lansdowne. This letter is dated 8.12.1893, when the movement was at its peak. The letter says: "The Queen greatly admired the Viceroy's speech on the Cow-killing agitation. While she quite agrees in the necessity of perfect fairness, she thinks the Muhammadans do require more protection than Hindus, and they are decidedly by far the more loyal. Though the Muhammadan's cow-killing is made the pretext for the agitation, it is, in fact, directed against us, who kill far more cows for our army, &c., than the Muhammadans."

The British queen and her government were obviously well-informed about the agitation through the detailed reports collected by the British administration in India during this period. The feeling that this was a political movement directed against British rule was expressed by many British officials, who had a first hand knowledge of the agitation in different parts of North India.

The British Viceroy Lansdowne was to say in a minute dated 28.12.1893: "...I doubt whether, since the Mutiny, any movement containing in it a greater amount of potential mischief has engaged the attention of the government of India. ... the agitation has supplied the whole of the disloyal elements to be found in the Indian community with a popular backing which they could not have obtained from any other source ... in India the unrest and discontent which have found expression in the Congress movement and in other political combinations, will, I am afraid, become infinitely more dangerous now that a common ground has been found upon which the educated Hindus and the ignorant masses can combine forces." Elsewhere, Lansdowne said that the cow-protection movement was transforming the Indian National Congress from a debating society into a real political power. Clearly, the cow-protection movement had begun to disturb the British administration deeply. However they seemed to

be unsure about the way to deal with it. Lansdowne writing elsewhere stated, that the movement was "prima facie a legal and blameless one" and hence the agitation could not be interfered with so long as "its operations were ostensibly restricted to lawful objects." The Lt. Governor of Bengal, A.P. MacDonnell wrote to the Commissioner of Patna in September 1893: " ... we should keep outside it as much as we can ... *We should by all means keep the fanaticism of the Hindoos from being directed against the government.*"

Dennis Fitzpatrick, Lt. Governor of the Punjab wrote, in a note in 1894: "The cow-killing question is the question of all others which, at least for the last 20 years, has been regarded by us all as the gravest danger that threatens us in India. If it spread, as it might, to our native Army and Police, it is not too much to say that over large tracts of the country British rule would be for a time wiped out."

The Punjab

British officials at different levels of the administration had observed the cow-protection movement in the Punjab and given their responses. In a minute written in 1887, J.B. Lyall, Lt. Governor of Punjab wrote: "I gather from many quarters that an idea has prevailed lately among the Hindus (Sikhs included) in the Punjab that we are turning from them and favouring the Muhammadans... *in cow-killing disputes the Muhammadan position is naturally apt to appear the more reasonable to our officers... In the Punjab, it is very necessary... to remember that before we took the country, the Hindus had the upper hand...*"

In 1888, another official, Tupper wrote: "The feelings connected with the slaughter of kine are politically the most dangerous element in the Punjab." *He suggested that Muslims opposed to British rule might have found an issue to provoke*

the Hindus against the British Government who were responsible for the continuation of cow-killing. The cow-killing issue had strengthened the opposition of both Hindus and Sikhs to the British rule.

Towards the end of 1893, the local officials of the British Administration reported on the movement in their regions. Some of the officials provided fairly elaborate reports on the movement and on the functioning of Gaurakshini Sabhas and gausalas. In a note dated 13 December 1893, J.R. Drummond, Deputy Commissioner, Gurgaon, made the following points: There had been an agitation against cow-killing, which was more or less open, for some years. In the previous two years the agitation had become more widespread and intense. Gaurakshini Sabhas and gausalas had been functioning in several places. Government officials played a very important role in spreading the movement. After action was taken against Government officials who supported Gaurakshini Sabhas, the Sabhas seemed to restrict their activities to merely providing a shelter for disabled cattle. However, on many occasions the activities of the Gaurakshini Sabhas and gausalas brought them into conflict with butchers and with the government. Hindus everywhere had become concerned about the sale and slaughter of cows. *While certain sections of the Muslim community were becoming unhappy, some Muslims were sympathetic to the movement. Drummond said that the Darwesh groups, who had great local influence, and many Muslim Rajputs seemed to be sympathetic.*

Earlier on, referring to the Meos, Mr. Drummond stated, "*until quite recently most Meos looked on the disposal of a cow or a bullock for the use of the flesh or hide as discreditable.*" He considered the Meos as nominal Muhammadáns, and thought the same about the local Musalman Jats and Ahirs.

McCracken, the officiating General Superintendent of the

Thagi & Dacoity Department, in a report dated 9.8.1893 on the anti-cow-slaughter movement, commented on the movement in the Punjab: "...a belief current among the Hindus, that the Russians would put a stop to kine-killing if ever they should conquer India, and to the Kukas looking to restoration of the Khalsa Raj (Sikh kingdom) to effect the same purpose should not be lost sight of.

"...nothing has ever been reported connecting the Native Army in anyway with the cow-killing agitation beyond an attempt of some men of the 36th Sikh Regiment in 1891 to prevent cows being taken to the slaughter-house at Ludhiana, and a vague and unconfirmed report that members of the Arya Samaj were enlisting in order to excite interest on the cow-question among the sepoys. ...there was some reason to believe that Kuka agents were employed to tamper with Sikhs in regiments and if the cow-killing agitation ever reached an acute stage in the Punjab, a very careful watch would have to be kept both on Sikhs and Kukas."

Uttar Pradesh

In the eyes of the administration, the greatest danger lay in the efforts of some Sabhas to form an alternate state structure. To the Lt. Governor of NWP, Charles Crosthwaite *the Gorakshini Sabha was "a very dangerous organisation which threatens in some districts to become the government de facto of the country*". Therefore, the administration tried to reassert its control by means of threats and punishments.

Crosthwaite held a series of durbars in which he met the leaders of the Hindus. In the Durbar in Azamgarh, he charged the Hindu landholders of that district with having failed in their duty. Not one of them had come forward to tell the officers of Government what was going on. Not one of them had lifted his hand to prevent his people from joining in the riots.

Not one of them had assisted the Magistrate to trace out and convict the leaders of the agitation. He warned them of the consequences of promoting and supporting the Gaurakshini Sabhas: "The cost of the additional (punitive) force... will fall ... on the landowners, who as I believe, are much to blame for what has occurred. It will depend on the endeavours you make to restore unanimity and goodwill whether I shall be able to relieve you of this burden after a shorter or longer period." The Government also punished the talukdars by suspending their licenses to possess arms.

In a letter dated 18.9.1893, the Chief Secretary to Government, NWP wrote to the Secretary to Government of India, Home Department: "In the recent events in these Provinces, nothing has caused more concern to the Lt. Governor than the secrecy with which the combined movements of large numbers of persons for an unlawful object have been arranged and carried out. Owing to various causes, the present law which binds landholders to give information ... has become ineffectual. ...there can be no doubt whatever that some large landholders and others of smaller importance who do not reside in the disturbed districts or tracts have been responsible, not perhaps for the riots, but for the unlawful machinery which has made them possible, and for the mischievous agitation which has led to them. They and their agents must of course have known what was going on, and cannot have been ignorant of the letters which were being circulated and of the unlawful assemblies which were being arranged."

Therefore the NWP Government under Charles Crosthwaite asserted that the agitation against cow-killing must be considered "seditious and most dangerous to the public peace". The NWP Government suggested changes in the law to deal with the agitation. Crosthwaite suggested: banning of unauthorised cattle pounds and "unlawful societies"; preven-

tion of "malicious or reckless publication of false and alarming stories by the Press"; the power to recover the cost of additional "punitive" police from absentee landlords and to compensate victims at the expense of offenders; and the compelling of Patwaris or specially appointed village headmen to give information, related to the agitation, to the Government.

The administration set up special Conciliation Committees in Azamgarh and other places. These Committees composed of equal numbers of "leading Hindu and Muslim notables". They were to take up the cases of each town or village individually and to arrive at a unanimous description of the "custom" that was supposed to have prevailed. They were also responsible for inducing local Muslims and Hindus to abide by this "custom".

The cow-protection movement had made a deep impact on Indian society. In the words of Lyall, the Secretary of the Government of India, in Bengal the Hindu revival "in recent years has brought about a considerable change, and European habits ... are no longer paraded as they used to be."

In his report on the movement, dated 9 August 1893, D. F. McCracken, officiating General Superintendent of the Thagi & Dacoity Department summarised the "Dangers of the Movement": The primary danger of the cow-protection movement was that it united Hindus of all sects, no matter how much they differed on other questions. Even if the movement looked anti-Muslim, it was in fact against the British Government. He added " *...and in this connection the preaching against the number of animals slaughtered to supply beef to the British soldiers and to Europeans, and the attempts made to rescue cattle destined for the Commissariat are very significant.* Though the movement has a strong hold in the Bombay Presidency and the Central Provinces, there is not much likelihood of any serious danger arising out of the

movement there, or in Bengal. The real danger lies in its spread in the NWP and the Punjab where serious disturbances between the Hindus and Muhammadans, and collisions with the authority of Government have already occurred... Hindu organs... charge Government officials with deliberately sowing dissension between the two communities or of favouring the Muhammadans at the expense of the Hindus in order to divide and rule... *There can be no doubt that a new force has arisen, and in considering the military requirements of the country for the preservation of internal order, this force has to be considered as an important factor.*"

Bihar

The Commissioner of the Patna Division sent a report dated 27 October 1893, on the cow-protection movement, to the Chief Secretary of the Government of Bengal. The response of the Governor of Bengal to this report was conveyed in the letter from the Chief Secretary dated 8 November 1893.

In the opinion of the Governor, the agitation had not arisen spontaneously in Bihar, but had been started by agitators from outside the Province, who started to speak at fairs and markets. They had created associations in towns and villages. Although these associations had initially "adhered to the original blameless religious objects" many of them had moved away from such objectives. Many of the agitators, both "foreign" and local ... had decided to "violently prevent kine-slaughter in any circumstances". These agitators had also "sought to enforce this prohibition by temporal and spiritual terrorism".

The Governor also felt that although the local officers of the government were aware of the agitation from the beginning, they had not taken any active steps to obtain information about the agitators. They had also not adopted any effective measures to restrict or stop the "illegal" developments of

the movement. They had allowed large groups of agitators to move about without any supervision; they had not even procured copies of "inflammatory pamphlets"; and cattle were forcibly rescued without any action being taken by the officials.

The final observation made by the Governor was that the some of the most important local agents for promoting the movement were Government officials, connected with the local courts, schools, and post-offices. In fact the Government machinery had been used by the agitators for the dissemination of their opinions "and the enforcement of their objects", without any questioning from the district authorities. As the movement was supported by "so many gentlemen of position and respectability", it was not interfered with "even in its more questionable developments".

The "wandering sadhus", like the Nagas and Powaris, seemed to create the greatest problem for the Government. Their functioning seemed so mysterious that the Commissioner of Patna Division stated, in October 1893, that, "It is believed that these men are controlled by some as yet unknown agency. ...it is the uniformity of their action in places where riots have occurred that lends plausibility to the theory that they act under control of some organiser; thus the proximate cause of both of the Basantpur riots is found to have been the same as that of those at Ballia, namely the announcement of certain sadhus, followers of the great Powari Baba of Baikantpur in Gorakhpur, that they could neither eat nor drink till the kine were rescued." All the officials held the view that the movement from place to place of the sadhus and other lecturers and "preachers" had to be stopped.

One of the problems that the British State faced was with the way caste or religion made large numbers of people obey instructions instantly. For the British State, any community

or group of individuals who functioned according to their own norms and laws was "seditious and subversive". Thus the report of the Commissioner of the Patna Division says, about the Gaurakshini Sabhas,"... their subscriptions are collected in the form of a tax by a system of religious intimidation which is quite inconsistent with individual liberty. It would also appear that the power of summoning Panchayats to try erring 'brothers' and of punishing their offences by fine or outcasting is claimed".

Gibbon, an astute officer in Bettiah in Champaran District, in his report of September 1893 opined that *the leaders of the movement were not acting "from purely religious motives" but from political motives, and that "their ultimate object and end is to excite the people to sedition and to the subversion of the British power". He felt that there was a serious danger to the British rule since he was also sure that Muslims and Hindus were "acting in concert" and "on some pre-arranged lines". He also felt that the trends he saw in the "native money market" spelt serious trouble to the British Government. He pointed out: "Every banker is calling in his dues, and will not part with money on any terms. Distrust is rampant in every bazar". He added "...the real masters of the movement, are solely influenced by a deep-rooted hatred of our rule and a determination to get rid of it by any means, at any cost."*

Gibbon also described how the Gaurakshini Sabhas were organised and how they functioned. He pointed out that the bye-laws were formed very carefully: " ...no names are given, there is nothing to show who the Committee consists of ...all parties are most careful to conceal their identity." The secrecy with which the movement was organised and the widespread participation of Hindus was repeatedly emphasised by Gibbon: "...The Government wish to know the names of

the emissaries and the persons who harbour them. This it will be impossible to inform you of. They mostly come to us under assumed names... Who will harbour them? Every Hindu will. The Powarijee of Bykuntpore is alleged to be the prime mover of the movement in these parts. All Bettiah would deem it an honour to feed him any time... Whenever a disturbance takes place, the news of it is distributed quickly to all parts of the country."

Gibbon spoke also about various social pressures and boycotts which helped in building up the movement. He referred to the increasing strength of the Sabhas: "*Their first attempts were confined to stopping the killing of cows on the Muhammadan Eed; their present attempt is a more ambitious one, viz. to stop the supply of beef for our troops.*"

Finally, Gibbon suggested measures to control the movement: "Hunt down the principal conspirators... when you have occasion to order your Police to fire use ball and not blank cartridge, fire low and hang the first policeman who fires in the air ... insist of all members of large mendicant communities remaining at their *maths* or bustees and do not permit them to go about the country in large numbers together".

The large participation of Government servants was a major cause for worry. H. C. Williams, Magistrate and Collector of Darbhanga, in his report in October 1893 pointed out that the participation of Government servants had to be stopped immediately: "...any Government official found acting as Secretary, or in any way managing these societies (Gaurakshini sabhas) should be at once dismissed." Other officials expressed a similar view on this issue. Officials often also complained that subordinates who were supporters of the movement would not divulge any information about it. No Hindu could be trusted as the loyalty of the Hindu was ultimately to his religion (Dharma) and not to the British.

Officials investigating the movement in the area around Basantpur in the Saran District, where a police station had been attacked, discovered that "not a single Hindu can be found to give any information either as to what has taken place in the past or what may be expected in the future".

The Magistrate and Collector of Darbhanga made several other observations. He said that the Government itself was responsible for allowing an immense political movement to develop unchecked. The Gaurakshini Sabhas or their activists had not been curbed. The Police had never been ordered to report about the movements of the Sabhas and its representatives or to stop them. The Police had assumed that the higher authorities had in fact tacitly approved of the movement. Government officials at all levels had openly subscribed to various funds of the movement. The movement had been openly supported by leaders of the Hindu community who were all members on various Government Councils, such as the Maharajas of Benares, Dumraon, Darbhanga, Raja Rampal Singh and other Rajas in the Oudh and North Western Provinces. Newspapers and printing presses belonging to some of these leaders had been used to promote the activities of the Gaurakshini Sabhas. While the original principles of the Gaurakshini Sabhas were fairly simple, they had eventually become political. The founders of these Sabhas would have never imagined that the ultimate consequence of the activities of the Sabhas would be "to disturb whole districts, to have riots common, and armed forces required to keep the peace." If only the Government had expressed its open disapproval of the Gaurakshini Sabhas two or three years earlier, "the state of affairs by which the North-Western Provinces districts of Azamgarh and Ballia have been brought into almost a state of civil war and the Bihar districts generally disturbed would not have occurred."

Williams recommended several other measures to deal with the movement: Prevent all "agents and preachers" of the Sabhas and other "itinerant preachers" from moving about in the districts; Hold zamindars and other leading inhabitants responsible for any disturbances in their villages; Disarm everyone wherever riots occur; Introduce press-censorship and summarily close printing presses "which will be found guilty of printing the most scurrilous, inflammatory and disloyal circulars..."

Another measure commonly recommended by the officials was to warn both Hindus and Muslims that any disturbance meant they would have to bear the cost of additional Police brought in to maintain law and order. Gaurakshini Sabhas were warned that they had to stay within their "legitimate" objectives.

By the end of 1893, these measures seem to have had the effect of keeping away Government servants as well as other prominent citizens, thus making some of the Sabhas inactive. According to the Deputy Superintendent of Police, Gaya, by September 1893 "the leading Hindus of Gaya town publicly disavow any connection with the Sabha." And by October of 1893, the Commissioner of Patna Division was writing to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal that "there is for the present but little or no active agitation going on anywhere in the Gaya District." The movement seemed to subside after 1893. The relief felt by the British officials was best expressed by Gibbon when he concluded in his report "*We English are a lucky race; thank God they have rushed it as they have*".

The above self-congratulatory note of Mr. Gibbon must have been shared by very many Englishman in high positions then, and perhaps during most of the period of British rule in India. Mr. A. E. Hurry, Deputy Commissioner, Lahore

seemed to have shared it as well. During the relative fading of the anti-kine-killing movement he felt satisfaction in his observation that though, "The movement is no doubt spreading in the Panjab, but I can not say if it is becoming dangerous".

But then Mr. Hurry reflected, and added, ' I think the cow protection societies need very careful watching. They are essentially hostile to Musalmans, but their grave importance as regards the peace of India will be increased very considerably, if they are ever found to be connected with the fomenting of disloyalty or dissatisfaction on the part of Musalmans to our rule. In my opinion there will be ground for grave apprehension when these two movements are found to be simultaneous." He however observed, "I don't think they are so as yet."

In the steps which the British took, throughout their rule, from the mid-eighteenth century till 1947, to see that the two did not join together and become simultaneous they succeeded very well. In a way this success could be called "lucky" as Mr. Gibbon of the Bettiah Raj does in his letter to the Commissioner of Patna. Yet, this luck of the English, or of West European man, especially since 1500 AD, had a long pratice behind it, and it had been contrived far longer. Europe had long been given to lethal and brutal war, earlier in its neighborhood, and since the Christian crusades followed by European discoveries of the world from 1492 onwards, treating the world merely as its battle ground. The *Laws* [626] of Plato has described this characteristic in these words, "Ordinary men do not understand that they are all engaged in a never-ending lifelong war against all other states... What most men call 'peace' is really only a fiction, and that in cold fact all states are by nature fighting an undeclared war against every other state... If we don't come out on top in war, nothing that

we possess or do in peacetime is of the slightest use, because all the goods of the conquered fall into the possession of the victors."

During the British occupation and domination of India the people of India showed no lack of resistance to the domination and its doings. The foregoing narrative on the resistance to the killing of the cow is just one such major instance. But the resistance was according to the character of the Indian people, it was neither lethal nor brutal. It was structured differently on the belief in the oneness of all beings and each being having sanctity. Living for them was not a constant struggle for survival and a long drawn out war. It is in this that the people of India failed to understand and deal with the British, and instead were made to make a nationwide movement fade away, and allowed the British to retain their 'luck'.

Some Early Major British Views on Sanctity of the Cow

i) Correspondence between Governor-General Warren Hastings and W. Palmer on Political Relations with Jodhpur and other Rajasthan Rulers, 1780

Warren Hastings to W. Palmer (24.5.1780)*

[On Goddard and Popham achievements, etc.] "I will give you my sentiments concerning the Rajah of Jayapore when I receive your report of your proposition which he was to send you. The vakeel has delivered none nor appears to have had any commission but that of intelligence and he is unfit for any thing but ...Banyanish intrigues. If you have any assurances of the steady and fixed system of government in Jayapore and that our engagements with the Rajah will not entangle us in quarrels with Nadjuf Cawn, encourage the expectation of such an alliance. It is as we observe a necessary link in our chain.

"But my greatest reliance is on the Rajah of Joudpoor. Labour to accomplish this point and go to him if he desires it. In any event the visit will be useful. It will add to our political knowledge and extend our future resources if it produces no immediate or substantial advantages.

---

* Source: British Library, Warren Hastings original correspondence, ADD MS 29115, Letter relating to Bombay affairs, 1778-1781)

"I lay before the Board your private instructions, and require the sanction for your prosecuting them, if the actual members make no objection.

"One of his request is that no cows may be killed in his country. I am sorry that this delicacy was not observed before it was suggested."

W. Palmer to Warren Hastings (10.6.1780)*

"I am at a loss to account for the conduct of Rajah of Jaipur, or rather that of his servants. No vakeel has yet come from him nor propositions of any kind, since I first wrote to you of his request, although his affairs seem to be in a deplorable situation... ...I suspect that the rajah is betrayed by his servants to Nadjuf Cawn, it is not otherwise easy to account for their neglect towards you at such critical circumstances and after the advances they had made, unless it may be imputed to their secret influences which there is too much reason to believe, which have been employed to counteract your designs in favour of the Rajpoot princes.

I apprehend that it is now too late to afford the Rajah of Jaipur any support... ...Capt. Popham did forbid the killing of cows, but as it was difficult to procure other meat, the order has been sometimes infringed by the troops not by the officers. The Rana told me that he did not expect a rigid observance of the prohibition and his motive for requiring it appeared to me, rather as intended to give him credit with his tribe, than to obey religious injuction. I, however, have always taken care to prevent offence in this or any other custom, religious or local, amongst my own people... I have little reason to hope for success in your commission whilst he (General

---

* Source: British Library, Warren Hastings original correspondence, ADD Ms 29145, Vol XIV, Apr-Sept 1780

Coote) remained up the country. I know that he has written to the Rajah of Joudpoor and not through the official channel of his Persian interpreter. He has a news writer in our camp some of whose intelligence has been communicated to me."

ii) Correspondence between J. Adam, Secretary to Governor General and C.T. Metcalfe, Resident at Delhi

1. C.T. Metcalfe to J. Adam (18.1.1818)

13. I take the opportunity of mentioning in this place, that in the negotiation which I have yet had with the Rajpoot states, they have all sought to have an agreement included in the treaties against the slaughter of horned cattle in their territories. Though I have uniformly declared it to be impossible to admit such a stipulation into a treaty, I have assured them that all possible attention shall be paid to their religious feelings on this point. [Paras 14-16 elaborate on it]

2. J. Adam to C. T. Metcalfe (2.2.1818)

Your declining the insertion in any of the treaties with the Rajpoot states, of an article binding the British Government to prohibit the slaughter of horned cattle, and the assurance you have given them, that every practicable attention to their religious feelings on this point shall be observed, are equally approved by the governor general. Measures will be adopted accordingly, under the orders of the commander in chief, for suppressing as far as possible if not entirely preventing this practice with any divisions of British troops operating or stationed within the territories of the Rajpoot princes.

iii) Viceroy Lord Dufferin to Secretary of State for India (extract) (31.10.1887)*

In reply to a query contained in your letter of the 21st of September, I have to say that we know nothing about Gondal and his cows. The proposed edict is an odd result of European travel. However, such prohibition exists in many native states. Even the Muhammadans do not kill cows in Rajpootana, and our soldiers at Mount Abu have to do without beef in deference to Hindu prejudice, so that if Gondal chooses to legislate in the sense proposed, I do not think we can interfere.

---

*IOL: MSS EUR F 130/8B: Viceroy Dufferin to Secretary of State for India, London: Simla 31.10.1887, Extract.

British Intelligence Note on the Anti-Kine Killing Agitation

Early in 1882, news was received of the commencement of an agitation for the protection of cows in the Punjab, started by the Arya Samaj of Calcutta and supported by the Maharaja of Benares. This movement resulted in an attempt at Lahore to get up a monster petition against kine- killing. About the same time, a Committee was said to have been formed in Calcutta under Pandit Dayanand Saraswati, the Arya Samaj leader, for the purpose of securing the co-operation of Hindus throughout the country, and attempts to procure signatures to memorials prepared by the Calcutta Committee were heard of in various parts of the Punjab. The Arya Samajes in the N.W.P. and Punjab were also reported to be sending out accredited agents to large centres for the purpose of distributing copies of the memorial against kine-killing and obtaining signatures.

The Arya Samaj is one of the most important of the modern sects, and was founded by Pandit Dayanand Saraswati, a Brahmin of Kathiawad, who having convinced himself of the untrustworthiness of the sacred books of the Hindus subse-

---

Source: IOL:L/P&J/:J&P 254/1894. Note by D. F. Mckracken, Officiating General Superintendent Thagi & Dacoity Department. (First name of the political intelligence set-up of the British in India from about 1840-1910)

quent to the Vedas, formulated his new system and attacked the existing orthodox Hinduism. He aroused considerable antagonism, and his death, which took place at Ajmer in October 1883, was not without suspicion of poisoning. The Arya (lit.true) or "Vedic" religion is primarily the outcome of the solvent action of Natural Science on modern Hinduism. In the eyes of the Arya Samaj the four Vedas constitute the only infallible revelation, and the bases of the Aryan faith are the revelation of God in the Vedas and the revelation of God in Nature, and the first practical element in this belief is the interpretation of the Vedas in conformity with the proved results of Natural Science. In their interpretation of the Vedas the Arya Samaj find themselves at issue with other Sanskritists. The three entities of Dayanand's philosophy are, God, the Soul, and matter. The samaj finds an efficacy in prayer and worship, but greatly limits the number of ceremonies to which it accedes any meritorious powers. It discourages the practice of bathing in sacred streams, pilgrimages, the use of beads and sandal-wood marks, gifts to mendicants and all the thousand rites of popular Hinduism. It holds the futility of rites on behalf of the dead. Idolatry and all its attendant ceremonies, according to the Aryas, have no basis in the Vedas and no place in true religion. The Aryas defend their religion from the charge of novelty and regard it as a revival of an old and forgotten faith, the decay of which was mainly due to the Brahmins. The Arya theory of today is that the real Brahmin is one who is a Brahmin at heart: that the Vedas are not confined to one class, and that all castes are equal before God. Though this is the theory of the Aryas in practice they will not eat or intermarry with people of other castes. The movement is to a great extent confined to the educated classes, and one of its most striking features is its readinees to re-admit into caste perverts to Christianity, or Muhammadanism, who

are willing to re-embrace the old faith. The Arya Samaj disapproves of child marriage and encourages widow re-marriage. It busies itself with female education, with orphanages and schools, dispensaries and public libraries and philanthropic institutions of all sorts. The Arya doctrines have been formulated into a series of 10 somewhat wide propositions and any person professing belief in the fundamental principles of the Samaj is eligible for membership. Whether the members of the sect are increasing or not is a moot point, but its strength is not to be estimated by numbers. The Aryas have an influence quite out of proportion to their numerical strength from the fact that they are recruited almost entirely from the English-educated classes and that their tenets are most popular among Pleaders, Government servants and others who have the greatest pretensions to mental enlightenment. It has been alleged that in the morning hymns of the Samaj they ask for deliverance from the rule of aliens. This has not been substantiated; but the following prayer written by Dayanand Saraswati was reported by the Punjab Government, in October 1889, to be used regularly by members of the Samaj : "We are the subjects of the Lord of Creation and the Supreme Spirit is our King. We are the humblest of His slaves. May He graciously grant us the privilege of ruling in the world created by Him, and enable us to dispense His true justice." Though bitterly at variance with the orthodox Hindus in other points, they are at one with them in the matter of cow-preservation. A split has commenced in the current year between the vegetarian and meat-eating members of the Samaj. Formerly the Aryas kept themselves strictly aloof from politics, but they are now freely taking part in all political movements.

Prior to 1882, however, in September 1881, a dispute arose between the Hindus and Muhammadans of Multan regarding the possession of a temple and well. When matters came

to a dead-lock, an agitation was commenced against the sale of beef, which led to serious rioting.

In consequence of some uneasiness having arisen in Delhi in 1882, the Punjab Government directed the local authorities demi-officially to use quiet influence with the leading men to nip the agitation in the bud and to throw cold water on the movement, also to assure the Muhammadans that their interests were perfectly safe, and that there was no need for representation on their part. A demi-official circular to the same effect was also issued to all commissioners.

The Hoshiarpur district was reported to be affected by the agitation, and in the end of 1882 Lahore and Delhi were similarly affected. Then followed a lull till April 1883, when the Hindus of Amritsar and Lahore were reported to be again active against kine-slaughter. Some bad feeling was aroused against the Muhammadans in Amritsar, and memorials were again reported to be in circulation through the Arya Samaj and Singh Sabha. In June 1883 ill feeling between Hindus and Muhammadans was aroused at Jagadhri, Amballa district, and in the following month agitation became active in Lahore, and a slight disturabance was reported from Kapurthala. In August, the Hindus of Ferozpur became excited against the Muhammadans, and held a meeting at which it was decided to hold no intercourse with the latter. In October1883 a serious disturbance took place at Delhi, and the peace of the city was threatened for some days. This incident resulted in the preparation of a monster petition on the part of the Muhammadans praying Government to remove certain disabilites in regard to kine-slaughter.

In April 1884, the agitation revived at Amritsar, which resulted in the display of ill-feeling between the Hindus on one side and Englishmen and Muhammadans on the other. The Simla Arya Samaj took an active part in the agitation of

1884, and throughout the year demonstrations for and against cow-killing were heard of throughout a great part of the Punjab, and especially in the large towns, but no case of violence was reported except in one instance by a Kuka, who declared his intention of murdering the servants of Government who permitted cows to slaughtered. Report from other districts showed that the minds of the Kukas were a good deal unsettled at this time.

The Kuka sect was founded about 15 years ago by one Balak Singh, a money-lender of Hazro in the Rawalpindi district, who appears to have been mainly intent on breaking the power which the Brahmins had acquired over the Sikhs. After the death of Balak Singh the doctrines of the sect were pushed forward with great vigour by his disciple, Ram Singh, a carpenter of Bhaini in the Ludhiana district. The belief of the sect is a pure dream. The Kukas or "Shouters" (so styled because, unlike ordinary Sikhs, they permit themselves to fall into a state of frenzy during their religious exercises), inculacate a very strict morality and desire to restore the Sikh religion to its original state of purity. They have no respect for tombs, temples or shrines, with the exception of the "Durbar Sahib", or Golden Temple at Amritsar, which they revere as being the depository of the "Granth" (Sikh Scriptures), and perhaps as being the capital and centre of the Sikh religion. They have a belief in Gobind Singh as the only Guru (spiritual leader) and in his incarnation as Ram Singh, and look forward to the establishment of the Khalsa Raj (Sikh Kingdom) as a temporal dominion. They generally refuse to believe in Ram Singh's death and expect his reappearance. They are supposed to avoid the use of meat and spirits of all kinds. In other respects, they are a puritanical Sikh sect of the School of Gobind with a more marked hatred of Muhammadans, butchers, cow-killing and tobacco than that held by most Sikhs. They com-

monly call themselves "Namdhari" [one who keeps the name (of God)], and many try to conceal the fact of their belonging to the sect. Baba Budh Singh, brother of the late Ram Singh, is the present acknowledged head of the sect. Ram Singh incited his followers to believe in the speedy overthrow of the British power, and the sect attracted the attention of Government as early as 1863. Precautions were taken to avoid large gatherings, but small disturbances took place here and there at religious fairs. In 1866 some cases of destroying tombs and Hindu images occurred. In 1869, there was a small rising of Kukas at Ferozpur, who after collecting all their cash and grain into a common stock, proclaimed the Sikh Raj (Sikh Kingdom). In 1870, a number of Muhammadan butchers were murdered at Amritsar and elsewhere, and the murders were traced to the Kukas. The uprising of 1872 was partly to avenge the deaths of the Kukas executed for these murders. In a mintue on this uprising, dated 26th February 1872, Sir R.H. Davies, Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab, remarked that the selection of Kotla, the chief town of the only Muhammadan State in the Sutlej territory, for assault appealed strongly to Sikh prejudices. "It had, in 1794, been similarly attacked in revenge for kine-killing by Bedi Sahib Singh, who again in 1798, raised 7,000 Sikhs, preached at Amritsar a religious war against the Afghans of Raikot on the same pretext, overran the Raikot district, and laid siege to Ludhiana. Nor can it be left out of this retrospect that, although a Patiala force soon reached Kotla, Bedi Sahib Singh was a sacred character, and the Sikh soldiers were unwilling to fight against him."

A peculiarly mischievous report came from Karnal to the effect that there was an impression among the Hindus there that the Russians would put a stop to cow-killing if ever they should conquer India. The Maharaja of Kashmir was said to be greatly interested in the movement. As far as could be

ascertained at this time, the centres of agitation appeared to be at Calcutta, Bombay and Benares; and the Arya Samaj branches throughout the country were used to stir up the Hindu community. The branches of this society in all the large towns of the Punjab began at this time to form themselves into Gauraksha Sabhas or Cow-protecting Societies, and to use violent language.

Connected with the anti-kine-killing agitation is that against the use of sugar manufactured after the European method in which the bones of cattle are said to be used in the process of refinement. This was first reported from Lahore and Amritsar in 1881. It was heard of no more till the revival of the kine-killing agitation in 1884. In November of that year, it was resuscitated at Bahawulpore, and quickly spread to Lahore, Amritsar, Peshawar, Ludhiana, Mooltan, Gurdaspur, Gujrat, Jullundur. In the spring of 1885 it was heard of at Delhi, but shortly after subsided.

Early in 1885, the ill-feeling between Hindus and Muhammadans in Montgomery district was said to be on the increase, and a decision of the Bahawalpore State Council permitting the slaughter of kine by Muhammadans inside the city of Khairpur was said to have much incensed the Hindus. In July 1885, a mischievous report came from Ludhiana to the effect some Hindus had remarked that, if England went to war with Russia, the Hindus should take advantage of the opportunity to massacre all the butchers in the country. In September 1885, the Hindus at Bahawulpore were reported to be much aggrieved at the daily slaughter of cows, or oxen, in the Nawab's palace. In the same month some excitement was reported from the Hoshiarpur and Ludhiana districts. Towards the close of the year Muhammadans of Delhi appear to have again taken alarm, and were reported to be making perparation to memorialise Government for permission to

sacrifice cows within their own dwellings - a privilege they claimed to have long enjoyed. Swami Ala Ram, a member of the Amritsar Arya Samaj, was very active in preaching on behalf of the cow-protection movement and in raising funds.

There was a lull during the earlier months of 1886; but in June of that year certain Nihangs (Sikh Zealots) at Amritsar were reported to be concerting measures to obtain a prohibition to beef being brought into the sacred city. In July of the same year, a combination of Baniahs was reported to have been formed at Hissar to outbid the butchers purchasing cattle for the Commisariat. Some Hindus in the Kapurthala state were reported to be interesting themselves in the movement.

Early in September the Hindus of Karnal began to agitate the beef question on account of the approaching Id festival, and professed to apprehend a disturbance. In the same month the bad feeling between the Hindus and Muhammadans of Delhi culminated in a serious riot, to quell which it was found necessary to call in the assistance of the troops. This riot was regarded as the result of the bad feeling which had its origin in the Muhammadans having sacrificed some 150 head of cattle at Bakar Id. On the occasion of the same festival at Ludhiana, there was evidence that leading Hindus, especially members of the Arya Samaj, had tried to stop the sacrifice of cows.The Hindus seized some meat being legitimately brought from the shambles, and the Muhammedans retaliated by attacking the Hindus. For some hours there was much disturbance in the town. At Ambala a riot was only averted by the prompt action of the Deputy Commissioner of Police who arrested the ring leader. In October 1886, a mischievous rumour was current in Amritsar that two European soldiers had been ordered by the Kashmir Darbar to be hanged for shooting a nilgai and that the protests of the Resident had been disregarded. Amritsar continued to be the most active

centre of the agitation, and towards the close of the year a rumour was in circulation that the Hindus proposed to offer the Government 3 Lakh rupees annually if they would put a stop to kine-killing. In December, there was a riot at Chichawatni in the Montgomery district.

In January 1887 the Singh Sabha at Ambala was reported to be discussing the possibility of keeping all cattle out of the hands of the Muhammadans. In June 1887 the Arya Samaj at Amritsar gave out that an application of the Hindus for the issue of orders forbidding the slaughter of cows, on account of the Queen's Jubilee, had been refused by Government. A determined attempt was made in August 1887 by the Hindus of Delhi to put a stop to cow-killing during the Id. In the same month it was announced that a meeting of the representatives of the Arya Samaj from all parts of the country would take place at Calcutta for the purpose of concerting measures for the protection of cows. In September 1887, it was reported from Jullundur that the Kukas were looking foward to the coming of Maharaja Dalip Singh, who was expected to put a stop to kine-killing altogether. They gave out that, if the English would put a stop to kine-killing, they would be content and would wish for no other Government. From Gurdaspur came reports at this time that the Kukas were restless and discontented, and were greatly exercised on the subject of cow killing. A memorial to Government was heard of at Jhajjar in the Rohtak district. In December 1887, a Kuka at Amritsar was reported to be going about Amritsar reciting verses to the following effect:- "The unclean have come from London, and have established slaughter-houses in every place. They have killed our Gurus, and we must now sacrifice our lives."

After the establishment of the Central Special Branch of the T. & D. Department with the Government of India in the

winter of 1887-88, with branches at the head-quarters of the local Governments, information on this subject begain to be received from the other Provinces.

Early in the year 1888, the Arya Samajes at Lahore and Amritsar were reported to be collecting subscriptions for the purpose of sending a representative to England to lay a petition before Parliament, praying that cow-killing might be put a stop to. In April the Deputy Commissioner of Ferozpur received an annonymous letter threatening his life if he sanctioned the slaughter of cows in Ferozpur city. In May a rumour was reported from Gurdaspur that the Kukas were all determined to stop cow-killing by fair means or foul, so that when Maharaja Dalip Singh arrived in the country, he would be pleased to see what had been done. In August 1888, a party of Kukas were noticed itinerating in the Punjab, who had vowed to abstain from the use of milk, ghi and butter until they had succeeded in putting a stop to cow-killing.

The Parsis of Bombay were reported to have submitted a memorial to the local Government on the subject of cow-killing. In noticing this memorial a Calcutta Native paper pointed out that the proportion of beef-eaters to worshippers of the cow in India is one to four, and called upon the Viceroy to take these facts into consideration.

In the North Western Provinces, early in 1888, the Hindus of Allahabad were said to be much excited in consequence of a recent ruling of the N.W.P. High Court to the effect that a cow is not an 'object' within the meaning of section 295, of the Indian Penal Code, and that the term was not meant to include animate objects such as cows. It appears that two Muhammadans, who killed a cow in a public place at Tilhar, Shahjahanpur district, on the day of the Id, were convicted under Section 295, I.P.C. The Sessions Judge referred the case to the High Court, which ruled as above. A meeting of

Hindus was held at Allahabad to express their grief and indignation at this decision, and it was resolved to memorialise Government to extend the provisions of section 295, I.P.C., to cow-killing.

A Hindu ascetic calling himself Sriman Swami, since identified as an ex-convict named Desika Chari, now appeared on the scene, and began to stump the country on behalf of the Allahabad Cow-protection Society. He stated that he had adopted the designation 'Cow-Protection' movement in consequence of the ruling of the Allahabad High Court, and that the agitation in which he was engaged was started with a view to attempt to move the legislature for an amendment in the Criminal Law. Sriman Swami lectured in many of the districts of N.W.P., Oudh and Bengal, establishing Gaurakhsha Sabhas wherever he went and collecting money for the "Cow Memorial Fund". In three districts in Oudh, the Deputy Commissioners were reproted to have presided at Sriman Swami's meetings. A subscription list was moreover published in the native papers headed by the Maharajas of Durbhanga, Hatwa and Bettiah. The Maharaja of Benares was also reported to have subscribed, and the Maharaja of Dumraon was apparently interested in the movement. In September 1888, Sriman Swami after holding 40 or 50 meetings up-country held a meeting in the Calcutta Town Hall. The Hindu newspapers in noticing it said that, now that all India was interested in the cow question and intended to memoralise the Viceroy and Parliament, it would no longer be possible for Government to ignore the movement. A bid was made for Muhammadan support but without effect.

On the occasion of the Bakar Id at Ghazipur, N.W.P. the Hindus incited by fanatical speeches of one Gopalanand, a member of the Benares Arya Samaj, assembled in large numbers and attempted to prevent the sacrifice of kine by the

Muhammadans. A riot was only stopped by the arrest of the ringleaders. The movement for preventing kine-killing has extended to the Shahjehanpur, Lucknow, Cawnpur, Ghazipur, Dehradun, Allahabad and Benares districts of the N.W.P. The Arya samajes at Dehradun, Jhansi, Aligarh, Basti and Banares were also reported to be very active in agitating.

At the Berhampur Cattle Fair in the Shahabad district, Bengal, a mob of Hindu villagers, in April 1888, forcibly drove off some cattle sold by a Muhammadan to a Commissariat contractor, a cry having been raised that the cattle were going to be slaughtered. The Bengal Government reported in the same month that there were indications that the kine-killing agitation was likely to take a troublesome shape, as there was reason to believe it was being manipulated by some of the Bengali agitators. In July the authorities at Gaya reported that trouble was anticipated there on account of the strong feeling against kine-killing. In August 1888, the butchers of Arrah, Shahabad district, complained to the authorities that they could not obtain cattle for slaughter on account of the cow-protection movement led by a Sikh of Amritsar. Ill-feeling was also reported in the Dacca and Sarun districts.

The movement had now spread to Neemach in Central India and to the Central Provinces, and the local Gaurakhsha Sabha at Nagpur was said to have made good progress.

A Society for the Preservation of Cows and Buffaloes, said to have been started at Bombay in 1887, was now heard of for the first time. It was also reported that in September 1887, the Thakur of Gondal on his return from Europe sent in a memorial on the subject of cow-slaughter in his State, but the Bombay Government declined to alter the previous orders on the subject. His memorial was, it is said, prompted by this Society. It is a curious commentary on the above that the Thakur himself should not object to partake of beef! A Mu-

hammadan, writing from Bombay at this time to a Native newpaper, denied that any of his co-religionists had signed any memorial to Government against cow-killing as had been alleged; though special efforts, he added, had been made to induce them to do so. The writer attributed the initiation of the agitation to Pandit Dayanand Saraswati and the Arya Samaj. Later in the year a branch of the Bombay society was started at Poona. According to the *Daily Post* (Bangalore) of the 12th December 1888, the Bombay society for the preservation of cows made a demonstration on the day of Lord Lansdowne's arrival in Bombay, and displayed strips of bunting with the following inscriptions. 'The cow is the wealth of India': 'The cow is a part of India's family': 'No happiness for India's people without the cow': 'The cow is India's foster-mother': 'God bless the cow', &c.&c.

In connection with this agitation a writer in a Madras newspaper drew attention to the anomalous state of the law with regard to the Sacred Bull question, and pointed out that two Judicial Courts had given diametrically opposite decisions regarding it: the N.W.P. High Court ruling that the creature turned loose is not 'property' within the meaning of the Indian penal Code, While the Punjab Chief Court decided that in all cases where a person is the owner of thing he does not cease by his own will and act to be the owner without transferring the ownership to another person, and therefore the thing does not cease to be property.

In September and October 1888, the Maharaja of Darbhanga was reported to be actively interesting himself in the movement, and it was stated that the local Cow-protection Society started under his auspices had been formed out of revenge, because the Muhammadans as a body refused to attend the National Congress of 1886; and in consequence of a general impression that it was Mr. Justice Mahmud of the

N.W.P. High Court who ruled that a 'Brahmini Bull' is not property within the meaning of the I.P.C.

In September 1888, there was a cow-killing riot at Dhubri on the occasion of the Bakar Id, in which the Hindus were the aggressors. A Muhammadan magistrate from Bankipore wrote to a Calcutta daily paper pointing out the dangerous character of the agitaion, and stated for the information of Government that the Ferazis, Wahabis and other sections of Musalmans felt very keenly about the matter, but at the same time had every faith in the justice and impartiality of the Government policy.

In November 1888, the Maharaja of Benares was reported to have stopped his subscription towards the maintenance of the local cattle home in order to curry favour with Government.

Towards the close of the year a mischievous pamphlet, by a Eurasian, named Mr. Garnett-Kemp on the cow-question was reported to be in circulation in several Native States. Among other misrepresentations the author asserted that cattle are impressed for slaughter by officials. The agitation was at this time reported to be more active in the Central Provinces than elsewhere, and in the Hoshangabad district a determined attempt was made by the Hindus to coerce the Muhammadans to give up cow-killing. The movement was also reproted to have extended to Berar, the Inspector-General of Police reporting that a bad feeling existed between the Hindus and Muhammadans in consequence, and that the latter complained that the movement was to a certain extent directed against them. A Hindu Native paper at Lahore at this time remarked that the cow-question might possibly lead to the defection of the Hindus en masse to Russia, should she, on invading India, declare for the suppression of kine-slaughter!

Early in 1889, Bengal reported a renewal of activity in

consequence of the proceedings of Sriman Swami, who was on a lecturing tour in the districts. In November 1888, the Swami had visited Nepal and gave out, on his return to Calcutta in December following, that the Darbar had contributed Rs. 10,000 towards this agitation, and had promised a further contribution. The Resident in Nepal, however, reported that Sriman Swami got no money either from the Maharaja or any of the Sardars. He was said to have asked for 3 Lakh rupees to overthrow the British Government, and this request caused his temporary confinement in his quarters at Katmandu. In March 1889, the Maharaja of Jeypur was reported to have become a member of the Gaya Cow-Protection society while on pilgrimage to that place, and the Raja of Faridkot was also said to have joined the movement. In April, the Arya Samajes in the N.W.P. and Rajputana were reported to be very active; and a branch of the cow-protection society was established at Apchalnaggar, Nandair, in His Highness the Nizam's dominions, one of the five chief temples and places of pilgrimage fo the Sikhs.

In May, Raja Rampal Singh, an Oudh Talukdar and well-known Congress partisan, was mentioned for the first time as identifying himself with the movement. The Maharaja of Darbhanga was also acitvely helping the agitation. A report from Rajputana showed that an attempt had been made to get at the Native Chiefs there chiefly by agents of the Arya Samaj, but apparently without result. The political agent, Haraoti and Tonk, noted that the wealthy Jain community are always ready to support such a movement. Incidentally he mentioned that the Maharaja of Benares and Raja Shiva Prasad, C.S.I.,[1] were

---

[1]The names of both the Maharaja of Benares and Raja Shiva Prasad C.S.I., have been again mentioned quite recently in connection with the Cow-protection movement.

the chief patrons of the movement.

In July, reports were received of a tour of Sriman Swami in the Bombay and Madras Presidencies to secure sympathy for the movement and collect subscriptions in its aid. At Bombay the Honourable K.T. Telang proposed a resolution of sympathy with the movement which was seconded by the Sheriff of Bombay. At one Sriman Swami's meeting at Madras, Mr. Eardley Norton, the Barrister, remarked that the movement was of such great national importance that it could be included in the programme of the Congress. At another meeting Mr. Norton declared that the movement savoured of a political character, and if it did not, it ought to. Sriman Swami's speeches were marked by a tone of satire and derisiveness towards the English, which elicited much applause from his Hindu audiences. He remained touring and lecturing in Madras and the neighbouring Native States till the middle of October, when he suddenly left for Allahabad in consequence of his identification as an ex-convict named Desika Chari, who had been convicted in the Tanjore District in 1869, for making a false charge and perjury, for which he was sentenced to suffer 6 year's rigorous imprisonment. Sriman Swami was publicly exposed in *Pioneer* newspaper of 23rd December 1889, but beyond publishing a denial of his identity with the convict Desika Chari, and threatening the *Pioneer* with an action for defamation, he has since taken no steps to vindicate his character.

In October 1889, the Chief Secretary to Government, N.W.P. and Oudh, referring to some disturbances which had occurred during the late Id festival, significantly remarked that the cow-killing movement was doubtless spreading both in depth and breadth, and that Sir A. Colvin apprehended that it would cause considerable trouble in course of time as it was spreading among the more ignorant and excitable

classes. During the Muharram there was disturbance at Rohtak in consequence of the Hindus attacking the Muhammadans, and the police had to fire with buck-shot on the rioters before they could be dispersed. In November 1889, the preaching of an agent of the Cow-protection Society at the Sonepur Fair in Bengal, was reported to have resulted in trouble for the Muhammadan ryots who wanted bullocks for agricultural purposes, and to the Commissariat at Dinapore which purchased for killing. A commissariat officer from Allahabad was unable to purchase any cattle for the Transport and Artillery. In December 1889 the Kukas were reported to have given out that Maharaja Dalip Singh would ere long restore the Khalsa Raj (Sikh kingdom) when kine-killing would be stopped.

Though there was not much active agitaion in the Punjab during the year 1889, hardly a week passed without some reference to kine-killing in the vernacular newspapers, and the tone of the articles was unmistakably one of social and religious animosity. Throughout the year, the Central Provinces continued to be the most active centre of the agitation. In Rajputana also the Movement was well supported; an agent of the Ajmer Arya Samaj was deputed to work the Native Chiefs, and a contribution of Rs. 5,000 was reported to have been obtained from the Maharaja of Jodhpure. The Missionaries of the Arya Samaj were also active in the N.W.P.

The year 1890 opened with a report from the Political Agent, Cotah, of a mysterious distribution of *chapattis* along with an injunction to people to abstain from selling cattle to anyone. Previous to the Mutiny, *chapattis* were distributed and were held to have a similar significance to the 'Fiery Cross', though it is not known if the real meaning of the sending of *chapattis* was ever fathomed.

In connection with a commotion in Indore city, the Agent to the Governor General for Central India, reported in Janu-

ary 1890 that an institution known as the *Giara Panch* or Eleven Panches, existed in Indore and consisted of Baniahs from the Agarwal, Oswal, Maheswari and Saraogi clans. These Panches are bankers and traders themselves and control trade in Indore city. They maintain a cattle pound for ownerless and infirm cows and have an establishment for preventing Muhammadans from purchasing cows at fairs, & c. A short while before this, the Mhow Cantonment authorities complained of the illegal seizure and detention in Indore of cattle purchased by Commissariat butchers from the Muhammadan district of Seronj.

In March and April, the Arya Samaj missionaries were reproted to be active in Sind, the Punjab and Rajputana. One of them Swami Ala Ram, who is also an active Congress agitator, boasted at Lahore that he had been the means of establishing 360 Gaushalas (asylums for cows) in Hindustan. A report on the movement in the Central Provinces showed that 44 societies existed there, and that on the whole the promoters had conducted their agitation in a peaceable manner, keeping within the law. The active propaganadists were said to be a knot of Mahratta Brahmin pleaders, and after them, the Marwaris of sorts. A missionary of the Burdwan cow-protection society toured in the minor States in Bundelkhand, but did not meet with much success. Two Arya Samaj propagandists visited Indore, Dewas, and other places, but failed to excite much interest in the cow-protection movement.

In April, there was friction between the Muhammadans and Hindus of Kushtea, in the Nuddea District, Bengal, arising out of cow-killing. Another riot occurred at the Berhampur cattle fair in the Shahabad district on 17th April, and some butchers, who had purchased cattle, were assaulted by a number of Hindus, and their cattle taken away at the instigation of one Gopalanand Swami of the Benares Arya Samaj. In June,

Mr Joshi, a Pleader of Akola, in Berar, who had been sent to England in the previous April, to lecture on behalf of the National Congress, was interviewed on his return to Bombay, and, being questioned as to funds, said he proposed that the Congress should assist the Cow-protection movement on the distinct understanding that half the subsriptions collected should be handed over to the Congress committee. Soon after it was reported that Swami Ala Ram had solicited signatures to Congress petitions to Parliament for the reform of the Legisative Councils under the pretext that the measure would lead to the stoppage of kine-killing, and the abolition of the Income Tax. Mention was now made in reports from Bengal of the intention of the Calcutta Pinjrapol Society to get up a memorial against kine-killing for submission to Parliament. The Central India Agency reproted an attempt of the Cow-protection Society at Neemach to induce the Thakurs of neighbouring villages in Gwalior territory to join it, but the Gwalior authorities promised to discourage the growth of the agitation.

In August 1890, the Hindus of Belgaum were reported to have boycotted the Muhammadans during the Muharram, and the feeling of animosity between the two communities ran high. In Bengal, strained relations between the Hindus and Muhammadans were reported from the Rajshahye district, and at Darbhanga a disturbance took place on the day of the Id, the Hindus on this occasion being the aggressors. Ill-feeling also manifested itself at Patna and Dinapore. In the N.W.P. there was no actual disturbance at the Id, but the Hindus of Aligarh boycotted the Muhammadans for sacrificing cows. The prime mover on this matter was a Pleader, named Badri Parshad. There was some little excitement also at Allahabad, but it was promptly suppresed. In the Panjab, the Id passed quietly, but the Hindus of Jagdhri, in the Amballa

district, boycotted the Muhammadans for sacrificing cows. Some friction was also reported from Amritsar with reference to the rules for the regulation of kine-slaughter recently promulgated by the Punjab Government which the Muhammadans considered an interference with their religious rights. There was friction also in the Gurdaspur district, but the Magistrate promptly set matters right.

The ill-feeling at Aligarh and Jagadhri had not abated in the following month, and it was reported that letters had been sent out from Aligarh to the Hindus in the neighbouring districts in the N.W.P. & Punjab, using them also to boycott the Mohammadans. Several Calcutta Hindu papers at this time accused the officials of stirring up the Muhammadans to insult the Hindu religion, and thus cause dissension between the two communities, lest they should unite and become politicallly strong.

In September, reports from Bombay and Central India showed that the local cow-protection Societies had created difficulties for Commissariat contractors in the Belgaum district, and at Jabbalpur and Mhow. The Chief of Dewas of the Junior Branch, who had countenanced his officials in stopping cattle in transit to the Commisariat at Mhow had to be informed by the Agent to the Governor-General that this could not be allowed. The movement was reported now to have extended to the Rewa State, and a Society was formed consisting of 36 of the Rewa Thakurs with a Rewa State, Mukhtar at its head. This was followd by the circulation of petition signed by the Maharani of Rewa, the Raja of Sohawal (Baghelkand Agency) and many others praying for the abolition of the slaughter-house at Satna. The servants of the disaffected Chandelin Maharani of Rewa were reported to be very active in joining the society. The agitation against the use of sugar manufactured after the European method, which had

revived in Bengal, was now reported to have spread to the N.W.P. and Punjab. An impetus was given to this agitaiton by the sitting of the 'Bharat Dharm Mahamandal' a religious society started at Hurdwar in 1887 to foster the Hindu revival and the protection of cows. Shortly after, the movement was found to have spread to Ajmere. A movement alleged to have been set on foot at this time, by certain influential Muhammadans of the N.W.P. and Oudh to discountenance the slaying of kine in sacrifice by their co-religionists everywhere, and thus remove one of the chief causes of the chronic antipathy between Hindus and Muhammadans, appeared to be viewed with favour in the United Provinces, but not in Bengal, where any intereference with the existing practice was strongly deprecated.

In October, the ill-feeling between the Hindu and Muhammadan communities arising out of the cow question still continued. There was also a slight disturbance at Bansgaon in the Gorakhpur district, N.W.P. The tension between the two communities at Darbhanga lasted till October, and at Aligarh till the close of the year 1890. At the latter place all attempts at reconciliation failed owing to the presistent opposition of Pandit Badri Parshad, the head of the agitaiton. At a meeting of the Arya Samaj at Cawnpore, towards the close of the year, a delegate from the Ajmer branch of the society stated publicly that the Maharaja of Kashmir had helped the movement considerably. A half-witted Sadhu (Hindu ascetic) was noticed going about Amritsar telling the people that, as the English ill-treat cows, he intended to kill them. It was suspected that he was tutored by one Bawa Narain Singh, Pleader, well-known to be disloyal.

Notwithstanding the apparent lull in the Punjab during 1890, it was noted at this time that very little might at any time convert it into a dangerous fanatical movement, in parts

at least of that province. All through the year, the Central Provinces continued to be chief centre of the agitation, and the Arya Samajes and their agents in various parts of the country were as active as ever in furthering the movement. Certain Missionaries of the Arya Samaj travelled through Bombay to Madras, where they held a meeting under the auspices of the Hindu Tract Society, the President of which urged that Government should pass a law abolishing the wholesale slaughter of cows in India.

In the beginning of the year 1891, owing to the attention of the Hindus generally being diverted to the Age of Consent question, there was a lull in the agitation, but the Arya Samajes in the N.W.P. and Rajputana continued to be active in furthering the Cow-Protection movement. A noteworthy incident at this time was an attempt of some men of the 36th Sikhs at Ludhiana to prevent cows being taken to the local slaughter-house. In consequence of the rumour that foreign salt and sugar are refined with bone-dust, the Hindus of Nuddea were reproted to have given up the use of those articles.

On the 8th May 1891, there was again a riot at the Berhampur Cattle fair in the Shahabad district. A crowd of Hindus armed with latis (quarter staves, often shod with iron) attacked the butchers taking cattle for the Commissariat at Dinapore. The police had to fire on the mob before the rioters dispersed. One hundred and fifty head of cattle were driven off. In June, in a report on the Nagpur Society, the central Provinces Government mentioned, as a possible source of disturbances in the future, that the establishment of Gaurakhsha Sabhas over the country had no doubt prevented butchers within the radius of their influence from obtaining cattle for slaughter as easily as before. The movement in the Central Provinces generallly was reported to have marked

vitality only in the Maharatta country.

A riot occurred at Gaya on the 18th July 1891, on the occasion of the Id, between the lower classes of Musalmans and the Hindus, assisted by the bad characters of the town. With reference to this case, the District Magistrate reported later in the year : "I learn that Gyawals, who have agents all over India, issued instructions to them to raise a clamour about cow-killing, immediately after the late riot. They have large numbers of agents in the Rajputana States and in Benares, so this cow business here may ultimately have some political importance, and will require very delicate handling." Some excitement at Delhi was reported about this time; also a fresh movement in favour of kine prevention was reported as being organised by several influential Pandits at Benares. The Maharaja of Jodhpore gave a large subscription to a local asylum for cattle. The agitation against using sugar, refined after the European method, had now spread to the Central Provinces.

In August, there were complaints on the Commissariat at Kamptee about the dificulties experienced in obtaining supplies of beef for the troops. Later on, there was a revival of the movement in Gaya owing to the riots there. All this time, owing apparently to the awkward enquiries as to the disposal of the funds collected by him for cow-protection, Sriman Swami kept out of the way in the Punjab, where he joined in the agitation against the Age of Consent Act, passing under an assumed name. Government was accused at this time of turning a deaf ear to the prayers of the Hindus regarding Cow-protection, because the Hindus were the chief aggressors during the Mutiny and massacred British men, women and children. In December 1891, instances were reported of the cow-protection movement and National Congress being discussed at the same meetings.

During the year 1891, it appears that the Cow-protection

movement was to a great extent overshadowed by the agitation in connection with the Age of Consent Act, and in consequence met with less general support. The Central Provinces continued to be the chief centre of the agitation throughout the year, and the Arya Samajes in the N.W.P. at Benares, and Ajmere were active in keeping it alive.

Early in 1892, the people at Kamptee in the Central Provinces were reported to be looking to the National Congress as the means of entirely suppressing kine-slaughter in India. It was also noted that after the Session of the National Congress in December 1891 was over at Nagpur, the members of the Gaurakhsha Sabha held a meeting in the Congress pavilion, which, was attended by 1,000 to 1,500 persons including some of the Congress delegates and visitors. Two prominent Congress delegates addressed the meeting, and collections were made on behalf of the movement. In March 1892, a mysterious circulation of lotas from village to village in the Sonthal Pargannas, and among the Gonds in the Central Provinces, seemed to be not unconnected with the kine-killing agitation. The feudatory Raja of Khairagarh in the Central Provinces was reported to have joined the movement. Partisans of the Congress were reported to be countenancing the movement in the Berars at this time. In May, the relations between the Hindus and Muhammadans were reported to be strained at Gaya in Bengal, Jaunpur in the N.W.P., and Hoshiarpur in the Punjab. The people in the Central Provinces were said at this time to be tired of the exactions of the Gaurakhsha Sabha. Sriman Swami now reappeared from his retirement, and presided early in June 1892 at a public meeting of Hindus at Lahore to protest against the dispersion of the pilgrims at the Hurdwar fair.

During June, it was noted that the Agarwal and Raskh Samajes and the Kayasth and Khatri Sabhas at Cawnpore had

all joined in raising subscriptions in aid of a Gaurkhsha Sabha at Patiala, a Native State in the Punjab. Some cattle being driven to Mhow were seized by an officious policeman on the ground that the owner was going to slay them. The Jains of Indore, who are most bigoted about kine-killing, became much excited, and the Minister, who feared a repetition of some trouble of some yerars ago, sold the cattle. The owner petitioned and the agent to the Governor General told the Darbar they must pay him damages. A case of cow-killing in the Sikh state of Jind in the Punjab was reported in October, and the investigation into it was found to have been conducted with much cruelty by the State officials towards the Muhammadans concerned – seven of whom were wantonly beaten prior to sentence, besides one who was flogged in execution of sentence. The case, however, did not give rise to any general excitement in the Province. The Punjab Government referred the case to the Government of India, and after much consideration the Governor-General in Council directed the Punjab Government to communicate to the Jind Durbar, without unnecessary publicity, an expression of the dissatisfaction with which the Government of India had learned of the cruelty and oppression which characterised the enquiry conducted by the State officials: and at the same time to intimate a hope that, now that the excitement aroused by these proceedings has passed away, the council would, with a view to restoring a better state of feeling between Mohammadons and Hindus, deal mercifully with the convicted persons.

The following are some instances of how cases of kine-slaughter are dealt with in Native States:-

In Rajputana, in 1863, Mehta Ajit Singh had a Meywar subject dragged by a elephant until he was nearly dead and then had him buried alive. The British Government interfered and outlawed the Mehta.

In Kashmir, in 1888, several accused, including one or two British subjects, were sentenced to imprisonment for life. Lord Ripon ordered that, if imprisoment for life has always been the punishment allotted to kine-killing in Kashmir, the British government need not interfere until our intervention is called for.

In December 1882, a Kashmir Maulvi was noticed in Delhi who wished to bring to the notice of Government that 800 Muhammadans had been imprisoned in the Kashmir state, for kine-killing, during the previous two years.

On the whole, the year 1892 may be said to have been one of little agitation and the movement generally was reported to be suffering for want of funds.

In January 1893, at the annual demonstration of the Nagpur Society, it was suggested that the Government of India should be memorialsed jointly by the Nagpur and Bombay Societies with a view to the prevention of cow-killing and, if unsuccessful, that the leading members of the Sabha should be deputed to England to agitate the subject there. Early in the same month, there was a riot in the Azamgarh district, N.W.P. A mob of Hindus attacked a Muhammadan driving cattle along a public road for delivery to Commissariat contractors and drove them off. The men arrested by the police were afterwards forcibly rescued and the police assaulted.

In February 1893, there was little doing except that Sriman Swami, who attended the late Session of the National Congress at Allahabad was reported to have started on a lecturing tour in Bengal. An organ of the Cow-protection movement in the N.W.P. remarked that, although the Hindu Chiefs do not allow kine to be slaughtered in their States, they could do much more for the cow-protection movement without difficulty *viz* by forbidding the export of kine from their territories, by giving grants to the Gaurakhsha Sabhas and appeal-

ing to Her Majesty the Queen-Empress for the discontinuance of cow-killing. The Maharaja of Bhurtpur was praised for protecting cattle in his territories.

In March, the agitation was reported to be very active in the Ballia district, N.W.P. An organ of agitation in the course of a long diatribe against British rule at this time complained that the Lieutenant-Governor of the N.W.P. had given permission to the Muhammadans of Mhow in the Azamgarh district to slaughter kine where it had not been allowed under Muhammadan rule, and that a landholder in the Gaya district, Bengal, had been requested to supply beef to European troops passing through the district.

In April, after a lull of some months, there was a recrudescence of activity in the Bombay Presidency, the N.W.P. and Central Provinces. The Bombay Society held their annual festival in April and passed resolutions to memorialise the Government of India to extend the area for grazing purpose to reserved forests and to stop the wanton wholesale slaughter of cows. The Lieutenant-Governor of the N.W.P. wrote confidentially that the movement, ostensibly against kine-killing was gaining in strength in the eastern districts, and that there had been some bad outbreaks lately. One especially in Gorakhpur, where a large body of Hindus attacked Muhammadan butchers at a cattle fair, and took 300 head of catle from them. The tour of Sriman Swami in Bengal was reported to have been followed by a violent outburst of lawlessness in the Gaya and Patna districts in connection with kine-killing. In the Central Provinces efforts were being made to extend the Panchayat system to villages in order to ensure the punishment of Hindus selling cattle to butchers.

In the month of May, it was reported that in Gaya district, in Bengal, hardly a day passed without some cases of rioting or threatened breach of the peace on account of the anti-kine-

killing agitation, and that the Bengal Government had to impose punitive police on the disturbed area. In the N.W.P. the agitation was said to be most rife in the Azamgarh, Ballia and Gorakhpur districts. In the Central Provinces the agitation was as active as ever, and the head Society at Nagpur was reported to be receiving substantial support from the sister Society in Bombay.

Owing to the special precautions taken in Bengal the Bakr Id passed off quietly, but in the N.W.P. serious rioting occurred in the Azamgarh district on 26th June. Hindus from the Ballia, Ghazipur and Gorakhpur districts collected in great numbers and attacked the Muhammadans in order to prevent the sacrifice of cows at the Id. The most serious riot occurred at Mhow where the police were outnumbered and unable to repress the rioters who murdered several Muhammadans. The Hindus in all cases were the aggressors. There were minor disturbances in the Ballia district. Much bad feeling between the Hindus and Muhammadans existed in Bareilly, but the Id there passed off quietly. Things have since quieted down in the disturbed districts owing no doubt to the presence of troops at their headquarters, but the ill-feeling between the two communities is still acute, and the trial of the persons concerned in the recent riots will no doubt make a considerable stir later on.

The movement in Bengal is reported to have the secret support of the Rajas of Bettiah, Darbhanga and Hatwa, and in the N.W.P. of the Maharaja of Benares. In the Central Provinces and Berar the leaders of the movement are the Mahratta Brahmin pleaders, the same men who are the chief supporters of the Congress. In Western India, the Society is more quiet in its operations, but equally powerful, as was shown recently, when a representative of the Bombay Society was able to compel the Minister of the Baroda State to cancel an

order that had been issued for the destruction of certain half-wild cattle, which were injuring crops in the districts. Every now and again complaints are made by Commissariat officers in the Bombay Presidency of the interference of the Hindus with the purchase of cattle for slaughter for the troops.

Organisation of the Gorakshini Sabhas - As has been shown in the preceding section of this note, the cow-protection movement, originally commenced by the Arya Samajes, was joined gradually by the Dharma Sabhas, or orthodox Hindus religious societies, and other Hindu bodies throughout the country. The leaders are mostly Brahmin officials, schoolmasters or pleaders, members of the so-called Patriotic Societies, but the main supporters of the movement are the great Hindu trading and banking classes, who are bigoted Hindus, and several prominent Hindu Rajas and nobles have given it their adhesion and support. The rules of the Sabha are designed primarily to prevent cattle from passing, under any circumstances, into the hands of those who will either sacrifice them or slaughter them for food, and to enforce these rules, caste penalties are put in force. A district Magistrate in the N.W.P. has well described the movement: "The whole of the Hindu population is driven into its arms by the tyranny of caste, and when once the league is established in any place, its grasp is so powerful that every man, women, and child must openly or secretly contribute to its funds, or cease to be a Hindu."

The following are some of the methods of raising funds adopted by the Gorakshini Sabhas. A 'chutki' or pinch equal to one paisa in weight or value of food stuff per member of a household at each meal daily, is set aside. One or more officers of the Sabha are appointed to collect and guard these heaps for a whole village, and when a sufficient amount has been

collected, the whole is sold and the proceeds credited to the Sabha. In some places, bankers, traders and others pay 20 per cent of their assesments on account of the *Pandri* tax as a contribution to the fund; Government servants paying income tax voluntarily contribute one pie per rupee of their income to this fund: persons having transactions with bankers and money-lenders are invited to give small donations according to their means: collection boxes are placed in the shops of money-lenders, traders, liquor-vendors and in public places into which people may drop contributions. Pleaders also make their rich clients contribute.

In certain towns, a recognised fee is demanded and paid on all transactions as a contribution to the fund. In others, fees are levied on sales of grain, cotton, oil, lac, cloth, &c., at fixed rates. In others again, fees are levied on cloth going out, and on every cart of grain coming into the town. In rural districts, a certain proportion of all grain sold is set aside for the benefit of the fund, and fees are levied on ploughs from every cultivator. Contributions too are levied on various ceremonies, such as marriages, adoptions, &c., on entertainments and on festive occasions.

The cow-protection societies employ paid agents to itinerate and lecture on behalf of the movement and collect subscriptions, and one of them, the Nagpur Society, has organised classes to instruct selected candidates as lecturers. These men expatiate on the glories of the Hindu regime in the past when no kine-slaughter was permitted, and appeal to Hindus to protect the cow, by distributing pamphlets, leaflets and pictures of the cow with representations of the various gods in every part of its body. Some cartoons represent the cow about to be slaughtered by a butcher, and all the different castes of Hindus standing round and crying out to him to desist. Some represent the cow in her whilom condition calmly drinking

at a stream to the sound of music, and in her present state in the hands of a butcher. Others depict a cow as worshipped in the past and as in the present time under the butcher's knife. One of these cow pictures is thus described in detail: "A calf is at her udder, and a women sits before the calf holding a bowl waiting for her turn. She is labelled 'The Hindu.' Behind the cow above her tail is a representation of the God Krishna labelled 'Dharmaraj' (Kingdom of Justice) and in front of the cow, above her head, a man with a drawn sword, labelled- 'Kaliyug' (The Age of Evil, i.e, the present era.)" A Hindu explained its meaning, as follows:- The Hindu must only take the cow's milk after the calf has been satisfied. In the 'Dharmraj' of the 'Satyug' (The first of the 4 ages – the Golden Age) no Hindu would kill a cow, but the 'Kaliyug is bent upon killing the cow and exterminating kine. As every man drinks cow's milk, just as he, as an infant, has drawn milk from his mother, the cow must be regarded as the universal mother, and so is called 'Gau Mata'. It is therefore matricide to kill a cow. Nay more, as all the gods dwell in the cow, to kill a cow is to insult every Hindu." The officer who obtained this cartoon adds: "The effect of this symbolical teaching on the rustic mind may be readily conceived and to the Hindu the symbol has in everything displaced the symbolised entity. I found Muhammadans everywhere excited because they heard a picture was in circulation representing a Muhammadan drawn, sacrificing a cow and this they considered an insult. The evil that may be wrought by this picture is obvious."

Agents are also employed to outbid butchers at fairs and markets and to detect and bring to book Hindus offending against any of the rules of the Sabha. Hindus generally are forbidden to resort to the Government cattle ponds. In the N.W.P. lately, there was reason to believe that the Gaurakhsha

Sabha contemplated the ousting of the jurisdiction of our Criminal Courts, and dealing with criminals, whether convicted by our Courts or not, by imposing penalties to go to the support of the Sabha; enforcing payment by turning the accused out of caste if he did not admit the jurisdiction of the Sabha by paying. Another proposal was to establish rural Civil Courts for Hindus.

One of the worst features of the movement is that our Hindu subordinates will not give information.

Dangers of the Movement: The primary danger is that the cow-protection question furnishes a common platform on which all Hindus of whatever sect, however much at variance on other questions, can and do unite. As a Native official has well put it : "To Hindus it is the question of all questions and it will always be the war-cry of the discontented." While professing to be based on economic grounds, the agitation undoubtedly owes its success mainly to the religious element contained in it, and perhaps also to the posibility that it may cause some embarrasament to an alien Government. It must be held to be part of the Hindu revival of which the National Congress is another manifestation, the aspiration at the root of both being directed to the formation of an Indian nation and the displacement from power, place and emolument of the ruling race, who may however be permitted to guard India for its new Governors. The inflammable and seditious character of the utterances indulged in at cow-protection meetings has repeatedly been brought to notice. Though the movement is ostensibly directed against the Muhammadans, it is, as Sir C. Crosthwaite recently pointed out, a form of disloyalty towards the British Government, and in this connection the preaching against the number of animals slaughtered to supply beef to the British soldier and to Europeans,

and the attempts made to rescue cattle destined for the Commissariat are very significant. Though the movement has a strong hold in the Bombay Presidency and the Central Provinces, there is not much likelihood of any serious danger arising out of the movement there, or in Bengal. The real danger lies in its spread in the N.W.P. and the Punjab where serious disturbances between the Hindus and Muhammadans, and collisions with the authority of Government have already occurred. The Kuka rising of 1872 had its origin in the abhorrence of the sect to cow-killing and the recent riots in the eastern districts of the N.W.P. are due to the spread of the agitation to those parts from the neighbouring districts in Bengal. It has often been pointed out that under Muhammadan rulers the Hindus have made no attempt to raise this question, and that before the time when the Hindus were stirred up by the existing political propaganda, the Hindus and Muhammadans hardly ever fell out with each other over cow-slaughter or went to the lenghts they do now. Muhammadan organs in the Native Press throw the blame upon the new education and sometimes on the Government which they declare does not maintain strict neutrality and leans towards the Hindus. Hindu organs on the other hand charge Government officials with deliberately sowing dissension between the two communities or of favouring the Munammadans at the expense of the Hindus in order to divide and rule.

The allusion in the first section of this note to a belief current among the Hindus, that the Russians would put a stop to kine-killing if ever they should conquer India, and to the Kukas looking to restoration of the Khalsa Raj (Sikh Kingdom) to effect the same purpose should not be lost sight of.

The opinions of Sir A. Colvin and Sir C. Crosthwaite on the danger of the agitation spreading in the N.W.P. have already been noticed. It remains to quote the opinion of the late

Lieutenant- Governor, and of the present Chief Secretary to the Punjab Government, on the danger in that province. In a minute on the Dalip Singh intrigues, written in 1887, Sir J.B. Lyall says: "I gather from many quarters that an idea has prevailed lately among the Hindus (Sikhs included) in the Punjab that we are turning from them and favouring the Muhammadans. Some say we are more afraid of the Muhammadans, others that we are influenced by dislike of the Arya Samaj and the educated Hindu. I think I can see some justification, or at any rate explanation of this feeling which is, in my opinion, one we should do all we can to remove. .... Again in cow-killing disputes the Muhammadan position is naturally apt to appear the more reasonable to our officers, and in other riots between Hindus and Muhammadans the Hindus say, perhaps with some justice, that we judge any turbulence or fanaticism on their part more severely than on the part of Muhammadans. In India, as a whole, it is more important politically to keep straight with the Hindus than with the Muhammadans. In the Punjab, it is very necessary to hold the balance perfectly even between the two, and to remember that before we took the country, the Hindus had the upper hand". In another place he says: "I would take all possible care to prevent the Muhammadans from giving the Hindus any cause of complaint in the cow-killing question." In a review of the report on the Vernacular Press of the Punjab for 1888, when there were signs of the agitation striking deeper roots Mr. Tupper wrote: "The feelings connected with the slaughter of kine are politically the most dangerous element in the Punjab. To the Muhammadans it is a welcome means of gratifying religious spite, and also a symbol of their freedom from Hindu supremacy, and disloyal Muhammadans may insidiously perceive that by flaunting this emblem of their political enfranchisement in the eyes of their adversar-

ies, they may rouse the anger of Hindus against the British Government, except for whose tolerance the practice would be suppressed. Either party may submit to British rule as preferable to the supremacy of the other, but from both, foreign rulers must expect a certain kind and amount of antipathy, and it is unfortunate that, in the case of Sikhs and Hindus, such antipathy as there inevitably is, should be embittered in connection with this cow question by a dangerous fanaticism directed against Muhammadans, or against ourselves, or against both. All this, of course, does not appear in the vernacular newspapers; but these remarks have been made to explain their tone with reference to kine-killing."

To these may be added the opinion of Mr. Henvey when agent to the Governor-General in Central India. Referring to the riot at Indore in 1890, he wrote: "The facts disclosed are significant and full of importance. They show the dangerous nature of the cow-preservation movement that has flourished for some time past in different parts of India, and exemplify how it is possible for a crowd of Baniahs to find it easy when their religious feelings have been sufficiently played upon by fanatics or hypocrites, to incite and abet in illegal actions the followers whom the Indore state permits them to employ, to mob the Minister of a powerful Hindu State and set his authority at defiance, and finally to compel the Maharaja of Indore and his Darbar to submit to a questionable compromise, supposing indeed the Darbar's Hindu proclivities did not render them at heart in sympathy throughout with those who ostensibly were defying the Majaraja's officials."

It must not be forgotten that Mr. Hume, as head of the National Congress, once openly alluded to the possession of the keys of the Magazine of physical force. Nothing has ever been reported connecting the Native Army in any way with the cow-killing agitation beyond an attempt of some men of

the 36th Sikhs in 1891 to prevent cows being taken to the slaughter-house at Ludhiana, and a vague and unconfirmed report that members of the Arya Samaj were enlisting in order to excite interest on the cow-qustion among the Sepoys. During the Dalip Singh intrigues, however, there was some reason to believe that Kuka agents were empoyed to tamper with Sikhs in regiments and if the cow-killing agitation ever reached an acute stage in the Punjab, a very careful watch would have to be kept both on Sikhs and Kukas. As pointed out by Colonel Henderson in 1889 with regard to the National Congress, so with this agitation, "There can be no doubt that a new force has arisen, and in considering the military requirements of the country for the preservation of internal order, this force has to be considered as an important factor."

D.F. McCracken,
(officiating General Superintendent)
(Thagi and Dacoity Department)
9th August 1893

BRITISH NARRATIVE ON THE AGITATION IN THE PUNJAB

Note on the Agitation Regarding the Cow Question

1882

1. In January 1882 it was ascertained that one Mangal Sain, an Accountant in the office of the Examiner of Accounts, P. N. S. Railway, at Rawalpindi, had obtained leave and visited Calcutta, where he held consultations with the leading members of the Brahmo and Arya Societies in regard to the suppression of kine slaughter. He afterwards left for Benares with the object of consulting the Maharaja of that place on the subject.

2. In May of the same year it was reported from Lahore that the Hindus, who were said to be instigated by the Maharaja of Benares, were preparing a monster petition for submission to Government, praying that the practice of kine-killing might be stopped. Forms for signature were circulated, and Muhammadans were asked to join.

3. During the same month Babu Rup Singh, a Clerk in the Deputy Commissioner's Office at Koath, received a communication from Pandit Dayanand Saraswati, the Arya Samaj leader, from Bombay, asking him to obtain signatures with

---

Source: IOL: J&P, 298/1894. This note was compiled in the Office of the Assistant to the Inspector-General of Police, Punjab, Special Branch.

a view to petitioning Government to prohibit kine slaughter.
4. Soon after this, in June 1882, it was reported from Ludhiana that a Committee consisting chiefly of Bengalis, under the presidency of Pandit Dayanand Saraswati, had been formed in Calcutta for the purpose of submitting memorials, first of all to the Government of India and subsequently to the Home Government , praying for the prohibition of kine-killng. To meet the expenses of the agitation 6 or 7 lakhs of rupees were said to have been raised by subscription in Calcutta and the co-operation of Hindus throughout the country invited. Failing in their object in India, the Committee were said to contemplate deputing two representatives to England. Signatures were reported to be in process of collection at Ludhiana, Delhi and Gujranwala. On receipt of a paper from the Calcutta Committee, Nihal Singh, of the Accountant-General's Office at Lahore, on leave at Ludhiana, convened a meeting in the house of Sheo Saran Das, a contractor, at which the following persons also attended :– Umar Parshad, of the Deputy Commissioner's Office; Pohlo Mal, a pensioned Naib-Tahsildar; Naubat Rai, formerly Sarishtadar in the Hoshiarpur District, who was imprisoned and dismissed from his employment; Duni Chand, Assistant Teacher, Ludhiana Government School; Tehl Singh, pensioned Police Sergant ; and Mansa Ram, brazier, a member of the Municipal Committee. A form for obtaining signatures was drawn up, and copies of it circulated in the city by Dhanpat Rai, Brahmin. When all the copies were signed they were sent by Nihal Singh to Pandit Dayanand Saraswati.
5. In July 1882, a Sanskrit circular, supposed to have been printed in Jummoo, protesting against the slaughter of kine, was found in possession of Karm Singh, Brahmin of Kalar, Police Station Kahuta, in the Rawalpindi District, a disciple of Dyanand Saraswati, who was distributing copies in Delhi

and obtaining signatures for the monster petition on blank forms lithographed for the purpose. Many signatures were obtained from school boys, both Hindus and Muhammadans, through the intervention of a Hindu School Master at Delhi.

6. The branches of the Arya Samaj at Meerut, Gurgaon, Ferozpur, Mooltan, Lahore, Sialkot and Rawalpindi were reported at the same time to be sending accredited agents to all large centres to distribute copies of the memorial against kine-killing and to obtain signatures.

7. Tara Chand and Shib Dial, bankers of Panipat, in the Karnal District, were noted as collecting money, for the general fund in connection with this movement, and Rao Judishtar Singh, late Honorary Magistrate of Rewari, Gurgaon District, a member of the Arya Samaj, as subscribing to the circular.

8. The agent who was detected at Delhi collecting signatures also had in his possession copies of a pamphlet, "*Gau Karuna Nidhi*" by Pandit Dayanand Saraswati, in praise of the cow and directed against kine-killing, which were given to him at Bombay with orders to distribute them on his way to Lahore. He distributed some copies at Jaipur and Alwar, and the branches of the Arya Samaj at those places undertook to obtain signatures to the memorial and forward them to Bombay. The Commissioner of Delhi was addressed demi-officially by His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor in the end of July 1882, and he and the Deputy Commissioner were desired to use quiet influence with the leading men to nip agitation in the bud and to throw cold water on the movement; also to assure the Muhammadans that their interests were perfectly safe and that there was no need for representation on their part. A demi-official circular letter in the same terms was at the same time sent to the Commissioners of

Lahore, Amritsar, Umballa, Mooltan, Jullundur and Hissar.
9. Early in August 1882 the memorial was found to be circulating in the Umballa District, a copy having been sent down from Simla by a baniah named Ganga Ram to Ramji Das, Khatri of Jagadhri, for that purpose.
10. A report also came from Gurgaon that a Sanyasi *fakir* named Banarsi Gir, an agent from Benares, was itinerating in the Hindu States in Central India and Rajputana in connection with this agitation.
11. Gopal Sahai; Ram Chand; Bhan, *alias* Jhajjaria; Bala, Chaudhri; Mala, Halwai; Shankaria; Nanga; Kali and Mohan, brokers, all residents of Rewari in the Gurgaon District, were noted at the same time as active agents in obtaning signatures; and two Brahmin agents of Pandit Dayanand Saraswati, appeared in Hissar and began collecting subscriptions and signatures to a monster petition against kine-killing, which they asked Pandit Parbhu Dial to return to Alwar, when filled up, as they could not stay themselves. All the Hindus in Hissar signed the document. Their proceedings were quietly stopped by the Commissioner. A man also came from Bikaner to Hissar who said he had obtained 350,000 signatures to the memorial in Jaipur, Jodhpur and Bikaner.
12. Signatures were said to be in process of collection in Sirsa, Rohtak, Lahore, Gujranwala and Sialkot about the same time. A Bengali also wrote to Ladwa, in the Umballa District, and obtained signatures from the bankers there. He said he had obtained the signatures of 3 lakh people to the memorial.
13. Soon after this, during the first week of September 1882, the Hindus and Muhammadans of Meerut were reported to be in an excited state on this question, but nothing came of it.
14. It was next noted that Asa Ram, banker, Khushi Ram, member of the Municipal Committee, and Murli Dhar, Pleader, residents of Umballa city, were prime movers in the

agitation, and that signatures were being obtained; but the movement was discouraged by the Deputy Commissioner, and not more than 50 names were procured.

15. Madan Gopal, a well-known Pleader of Delhi, was at the same time reported to have gone to Patna in order to take steps for the prevention of kine-killing

16. The Hoshiarpur district was then reported to be affected by the agitation.

17. Towards the end of September 1882 a notice was posted up in Lahore city to the effect that Hindus should abstain from selling cows to Muhammadans or Europeans, and that further information could be obtained from the Gau Sabha.

18. In December 1882 Nasir-ud-din, a Kashmiri Maulvi, was noticed in Delhi, who wished to bring to the notice of Government that 800 Muhammadans had been imprisoned in the Kashmir State during the previous two years for kine-killing. Maula Bakhsh and Rahim Bakhsh, butchers of the Sialkot Cantonment, who used to slaughter kine in the jungle near Jummoo, were sentenced to five years' imprisonment by the Jummoo High Court in January 1883, and the fact was reported to the Punjab Government.

1883

19. There was a lull in the agitation till April 1883, when the Hindus of Amritsar and Lahore were reported to be agitating for the suppression of kine slaughter in their towns. Hindus were dissuaded from going to the Chiraghan Fair at Shalimar on the 1st April 1883 by false rumours of beef being exposed for sale there and that a cow had been killed at the fair by the Muhammadans. In May 1883 memorials against kine-killing were again in circulation in Amritsar, and pressure was

being brought to bear on certain Muhammadans to sign them. The Arya Samaj and Singh Sabha were reported to have set these memorials on foot, and the movement was said to have the support of Bawa Narain Singh, Pleader; Murli Dhar, Secretary to the Arya Samaj; Lala Mulraj, Sarishtadar of the Deputy Commissioner's Office; Lachman Das and Bhai Ganesha Singh of the Municipal Committee, and of several Raises, whose names were not mentioned. The Commissioner was addressed demi-officially to use his personal influence to stop the agitation.

20. In the end of June 1883 some beef bones were found in a well at Jagadhri in the Umballa Distrct, which led to intense ill-feeling between the Hindus and Muhammadans of the town. Enquiry eventually showed that this was the work of a Baniah of this place!

21. In July 1883 agitation was again active in Lahore, and it was proposed, in addition to presenting memorials, to make repeated complaints against the butchers. Durga Parshad, head of the firm of Chota Lal & Co., undertook to find money for the agitation.

22. A slight disturbance also took place in the town of Kapurthala between the Hindus and Muhammadans about the opening of a shop by Sikhs for the sale of *jhatka* meat. Several wells were defiled by Muhammadans, but eventually matters were settled amicably.

23. In August 1883 there was some little excitement at Ferozpur in consequence of a Hindu having assaulted a Muhammadan woman whom he saw cooking beef ! The matter was compromised, but the Hindus held a meeting and determined to hold aloof from inter-course with the Muhummadans as much as possible.

24. In September 1883 some Hindus in Rawalpindi Cantonments complained against the Muhammadan bakers who

sold beef in the Sadr Bazar. The matter was settled amicably by the Cantonment Magistrate.

25. In October 1883, during the Id festival at Delhi, a disturbance took place in consequence of one Maulvi Yakub having tied two cows up inside the mosque with the express purpose of sacrificing them. Crowds of Hindus and Muhammadans collected, but the Police took the cows off to the Kotwali and dispersed the would-be rioters. A few days after a demonstration was made by the Muhammadans to effect the release of the cows, and a large crowd assembled near the Courts and remained there till they closed. Crowds also collected opposite the Kotwali, where the cows were impounded, but no mischief was committed. Maulvi Yakub, who was the cause of the disturbance, was bound over to keep the peace.

A disturbance connected with kine-killing was reported to have occurred at Bhopal also during the Id.

26. In November 1883 the ill-feeling at Delhi was kept alive by a rumour that at Agra the Hindus had refused the sell to the Muhammadans and that Police were protecting the bazar. Certain Delhi Hindus discharged all the Muhammadans in their employ.

27. In December 1883 Maulvi Yakub's appeal was accepted by the Chief Court, who reversed the decision of the Magistrate of Delhi. Maulvi Yakub returned from Lahore and on the 19th December slaughtered the two cows, but no disturbance took place. In the end of December it was reported that the Muhammadans of Delhi were preparing a memorial of submission to Government praying to be allowed to slaughter cows for sacrifice in their own houses.

1884

28. On the 23rd January 1884 there was a slight disturbance

about cow-killing at Harappa in the Montgomery District.

29. During January and February 1884 the principal Maulvis and Mullas at Delhi held frequent meetings, at which Aziz-ud-din, Pleader, and Muhammad Ibrahim, of the firm of Wali Muhammad & Co., took a leading part, when it was resolved that the Wahabis and Sunnis should sink their own religious differences in order the better to work together in promoting a monster petition to Government to remove their disabilities in regard to kine-killing and to allow them to slaughter cows in their own houses inside the city. Mirza Suleiman Shah, of the ex-Royal family, and the Nawab of Loharu signed the petition on certain passages, reflecting on the Magistracy and Police, being expunged. It was decided to send the memorial to England.

30. On the 20th March 1884 Pandit Joti Parshad of Benares was noted staying with the Head Master of the Jagadhri School in the Umballa District, holding secret meetings and collecting money for the purpose of sending a Hindu to England to agitate against the slaughter of kine.

31. The Singh Sabha of Amritsar advised Hindus to abstain from going to the Chiraghan Fair at Shalimar on the 29th March 1884 in consequence of His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor having declined to consider a petition from some of the leading Hindus to stop the sale of beef at the fair.

32. On the 4th and 20th April 1884 meeting of Marwaris, Saraogis and Bishnois were held at Delhi in the house of Diwan Kishan Lal to arrange for the despatch of one Shughan Chand to England with a petition praying that kine-killing might be stopped.

33. In April 1884 some Hindus of Sarai Saleh, in the Hazara district, petitioned against kine-killing by Muhammadans in their village, but no disturbance followed.

34. In the end of April 1884 a printed memorial by some

Muhammadans of Delhi, praying that the slaughter of cows at the Id might be permitted inside the city, was forwarded to the Commissioner for perusal and return.

35. Delhi and Amritsar were the only places in the Punjab where the agitation at this period reached an acute stage. The leaders of the agitation were, as far as has been ascertained, members of the so-called patriotic societies, and many of them were not really believers in Hinduism at all, but were restless lovers of notoriety, and joined the movement in order to obtain an outlet for their "educated" energy.

36. The following newspapers advocated the suppression of kine-killing: The *Arya Darpan* in the North-Western Provinces, and the *Akhbar-i-Am, Mitr Vilas, Desh Upkarak, Reformer, Kapurthala Akhbar, Regenerator of Aryavarta, Arya Mitr* and *Gauraksha Akhbar* in the Punjab.

37. The reports of this period showed that the minds of the Kukas were a good deal unsettled, and that this was a source of danger may be inferred from the fact that the Kuka disturbances of 1872 commenced with an agitation against cow-kiling.

38. The transfer from Amritsar of Lala Mulraj, Sarishtadar of the Deputy Commissioner's Office, and of Sahib Dutta, Assistant Surgeon, towards the end of April 1884, caused considerable talk among the natives; and the Muhammadans took credit to themselves for having brought about these transfers.

39. About the same time it was reported that the Arya Samaj at Simla was making strenuous exertions for the suppression of cow-killing, and that some of its members had formed themselves into a Gauraksha Sabha. Thakur Das, Hospital Assistant in the Charitable Dispensary; Sheo Narain, Naib-Tahsildar; Parmanand, Treasury Clerk; Mirchi Mal, Cart Contractor, a baniah of Umballa; Harnam Singh, Overseer,

Public Works Department; and Basant Rai, formerly in the Medical Department, and now a dealer in Moradabad ware, were noted as prominent members. A meeting of the Sabha took place on the night of the 20th April 1884 in the house of Mirchi Mal at which 1 Muhammadan, 10 shopkeepers, 10 school boys and about 40 others, chiefly employees in Government offices, were present. Thakur Das delivered a long speech, and endeavoured by means of strong language to enlist the sympathy of his audience in the efforts that were being made to suppress kine-killing. It was proposed to ask all the Hindu Chiefs in India to give their help in this worthy cause. Diwan Gobind Sahai, Jummoo Motamid, is said to have promised to assist the Gauraksha Sabha secretly with money and otherwise. Mirchi Mal was noted as doing his best to stir up sect feeling in this matter at Simla and Umballa. A sum of Rs. 150 was subscribed in Umballa Cantonment for the Sabha, Lala Charan Das giving Rs. 50 and Mukha Singh Rs. 25. It was reported that Sardar Jagat Singh, C.I. E., Jind Motamid, had also agreed to give all the help he could, but wished his name to be kept secret. At another meeting held in Simla on the night of the 11th May 1884, Thakur Das spoke warmly on the subject of cow-killing, and said it was incumbent on all Hindus to aid in protecting cows. The meeting finally resolved to submit a petition to Government, signed by all Hindus in Simla, and to buy a piece of waste land, and place there, under proper protection, all the cows of which they could obtain possession.

40. A paragraph in the *Arya Mitr*, Amritsar, of the 17th May 1884, noticed the establishment of a branch of the Arya Samaj at Umballa Cantonment by Sri Swami Isharanand Saraswati a leading member of that Society. This man itinerated in the Punjab and formed Samajes at the different towns he visited. From Umballa he went to Ludhiana, Amritsar, Rawalpindi,

Maghiana, Jhang and Kasauli, whence he came to Simla. At Rawalpindi he spoke against the practice of eating meat, and induced about 30 persons to promise that they would not partake of it. No one has yet been formally appointed to the head of the Arya Samaj, but it is said that Swami Dayanand on his death-bed nominated the following persons to form a council to manage the affairs of the Society:– *President*: The Maharana of Udepur; *Members*: Lala Mulraj, M.A. Extra Assistant Commissioner, Gurdaspur, and Lala Sain Das, Translator, Office of Director of Public Instruction, Punjab.

41. The Arya Samaj at Kasauli, which came into existence in 1882, consisted of Pancham Singh, Nand Kishor, Bhagat Ram, Mehr Chand, and a few others. Pancham Singh, a Clerk in the Executive Engineer's Office, was the head of the branch, and took an active part in religious matters. The principal agitator against cow killing was Moti Babu of the Executive Engineer's Office.

42. In the end of May 1884 it was reported that agitation was still kept up at Delhi with reference to the slaughter of kine. It was ascertained that about two months before, Shughan Chand, a Kaith of Saharanpur, who was said to be in the Jummoo service (other reports said the Postal service), and a Kashmiri Pandit, name unknown, went to Simla, where they assembled meetings and obtained about 200 signatures to a memorial regarding cow-killing. From Simla they proceeded to Delhi, and put up with Girdhari Lal and his son Behari Lal, Pleaders, who take prominent parts in this agitation. Meetings were said to be held weekly at Girdhari Lal's house and subscriptions collected with the assistance of a Committee consisting of the following persons, *viz*., Puran Chand, a wealthy Marwari banker; Manak Chand, Topkhanawala; and Piari Lal, Mungawala, all of whom rendered themselves conspicuous in the disturbances during the Id at Delhi in October 1883. Girdhari Lal, it is reported, sends a memorandum

of the proceedings of the Committee to Benares to Babu Sheo Parshad, C. S. I., for the information of the Maharaja of Benares. From Benares all papers, and correspondence on the subject of cow-killing are believed to be submitted to the Maharaja of Kashmir. Shughan Chand was reported to have established Committees in other large towns, all of which were in communication with the Central Committee at Benares.

43. About the same time Committees were being held weekly in Karnal and Panipat, and a fund was being raised to enable members to present a petition to Government praying that cow-killing might be put a stop to by legislation. The chief agitators were said to be: In Panipat: Tara Chand and Makhan Lal, baniahs; in Karnal: Tilok Chand and Ishak Lal, baniahs; Kishan Sahai, Gujarati Brahmin; and Ram Narain, Pleader. Sant Ram, Deputy Inspector of Police at Indri, occasionally attended meetings.

44. About the middle of May 1884 the Muhammadan community at Jagadhri was said to be raising funds for the purpose of engaging Pleaders to try and obtain permission to open slaughter houses in the town. They were supported by the Tahsildar, Shahzada Wala Gauhar, and the Naib-Tahsildar, Said Muhammad. The Hindus determined to oppose this measure by every means in their power. A little before this a dispute arose between Ramji Das, baniah, *alias* Roshan Shah, of Jagadhri (who though a Hindu, sides with the Muhammadans and is an associate of the Tahsildar), and Shiba, Patwari of Khera, a village belonging to Lala Bansi Lal, banker of Jagadhri. The former said that if Shiba was so proud of the banker he would soon find a slaughter house started in the town. On hearing that there was likely to be a disturbance, a crowd of Muhammadans collected to help Ramji Das, and it was only owing to the departure of Shiba that no riot took place.

45. Nagina Mal and Saudagar, Baniahs, Miru, Patwari and Sain Das, a member of the Municipal Committee, were noted as agitating for the suppression of cow-killing in the town of Machiwara; but there was said to be no organized movement in the matter in the Ludhiana District.

46. On the 12th May 1884-a paper in Gurmukhi was thrown on the Granth while it was being conveyed to the Golden Temple at Amritsar. The writer invited the sikhs to unite with the Hindus in making efforts to suppress cow-killing.

47. It was reported from Hoshiarpur that the leading men and Hindus intended to protest *en masse* against kine-killing, except in cantonments and other places where British soldiers were stationed, and that a monster memorial was being prepared for submission to Government. The older men considered the petition hopeless, but the younger and more impulsive were said to have declared their intention of memorialising Parliament till they succeeded. The *Gauraksha Akhbar* was being forced, it was said, upon all Hindus of any position or note, and if they refused to take it in, they were taunted with not being Hindus.

48. The Hindus of Mooltan were now said to sympathize with their co-religionists in Amritsar and Lahore in the matter of cow-killing.

49. Thakur Das, Hospital Assistant at Simla, was reported at this time to draft confidential letters to persons of influence on the subject of cow-killing and to have them copied by Jagat Singh, a Clerk in the Ist Division, Imperial Circle, Public Works Department.

50. The agitation, which a short while before had been very strong at Rawalpindi,was now reported to have subsided. Mohan Lal, Deputy Inspector of Police, was, however, heard to say that if the Muhammadans slaughtered kine in the city, the Hindus would retaliate by killing pigs there.

51. On the 24th May 1884 a private meeting was held at Delhi in the house of Girdhari Lal, Pleader, to discuss the subject of cow-killing, and a speech was delivered by Lala Madan Gopal, Pleader. About 70 persons were present, amongst whom the following were noticed:- Lala Ram Kishan Das, Honorary Magistrate; Rawal, Babu of the Dariba Chatrabhoj, Topkhanawala; and Baldeo Sahai, English Clerk in the District Police Office. At a subsequent meeting subscriptions amounting to Rs 5,000 were collected for the Gauraksha Sabha. It was also proposed to make a collection from house to house. The address of Lala Madan Gopal, Pleader, contained the following proposals: (1) that steps be taken to stop the purchase of cattle for the Commissariat slaughter-houses by Muhammadans, who, disguised as Hindus, buy the animals in the Rohtak and Hissar Districts; (2) that measures be adopted to prevent cattle intended for sacrifice from being driven through the city and along the Jumna *ghats* to the Railway bridge while Hindus are bathing and worshipping at the *ghats*; (3) that cows should not in future be given to Brahmins as presents (*daan*) because they frequently passed into the hands of Muhammadans and were slaughtered. Another report received from Delhi about this time stated that the agitation was spreading to the villages.

52. In the end of May 1884 Sohan Lal, a member of the Municipal Committee of Kalanaur, previously employed for a short while as a constable in the Gurdaspur Police, was reported to have delivered lectures in the Kalanaur *bazar* inciting the Hindus to agitate for the suppression of cow-killing, and to unite with the Arya Samaj in raising funds with a view to keeping the matter constantly before the notice of the Government until the practice was put a stop to. He recommended the purchase of a piece of land as a *rakh* for old cattle and the appointment of fit persons to look after it, all expenses in

connnexion therewith being defrayed by subscriptions. He said that when Maulvi Syad Ahmad visited Gurdaspur he enjoined unity between Hindus and Muhammadans; but that Sardar Partab Singh, Extra Assistant Commissioner, wrote to the Maulvi that the first step towards united action was the submission of a joint appeal to Government by both parties, praying for an order prohibiting kine-killing, and that unless this was done there would be a wide gap between them. Sohan Lal said he had resigned Government service with the sanction of the President of the Arya Samaj in order to take up this good work.

53. Early in June 1884 Ala Ram, a Sadhu, who associated with some of the leading men of the Arya Samaj, was noticed preaching against cow-killing near the Golden Temple at Amritsar and advising the Hindus to take measures to prevent the butchers from obtaining cows. Before the *Nimani Ikadshi* festival, which was held on the 4th June, a meeting of Hindus took place in the house of Gagar Mal, Honorary Magistrate, Amritsar, at which it was resolved that no earthen vessels should be purchased for the festival from Muhammadans. It is usual for all Hindus on this occasion to buy a large number of these vessels from *kumhars* (potters), and after using them for the ceremonies to present them to the Brahmins, who realize a good deal of money by selling them. In consequence of the decision arrived at by the Hindus there was great discontent amongst the Kumhars, who could not dispose of a large portion of their stock, and, it was said, suffered a loss of about Rs. 4,000. The Hindus were stated to be discussing the propriety of not taking milk from Gujars; and Bawa Narain Singh, Pleader, bought a number of cows with a view to supplying the Hindus with milk. He also tried to induce them to discontinue buying meat from Muhammadan butchers and to stop the sale of flowers and vegetables by

Muhammadan gardeners at the Golden Temple. Another report was to the effect that his motives were purely speculative. However that may be, the result was that many of the Hindus in Amritsar abstained from buying meat from the Muhammadan butchers, who complained of their loss.

54. On the 7th June 1884 Kanshi Ram, Brahmin, of Vairowal in the Amritsar District, was convicted, under Section 292, Indian Penal Code, of having posted up the notices in Amritsar city abusing the Muhammadans and Christians, and was sentenced to a year's imprisonment. The discovery of some bones in a well which was used by both Hindus and Muhmmadans in a village named Jahangir in the Amritsar District caused the Hindus to discontinue drawing water from the well. There had been no ill-feeling in this village previously.

55. On the 9th June 1884 a meeting of the Gauraksha Sabha was held in Jullundur Cantonment at the house of Nanak Chand, Contractor, and was attended by the following persons:– Bawa Sarmukh Singh, Secretary, Singh Sabha; Jamiat Singh, Superintendent of the Jullundur Settlement; Surmukh Singh, Kuka, petition-writer; Sande Khan, from Kapurthala, the Editor of the *Akhbar-i-Gauraksha*; Babu Bishambar Das; Babu Bishan Das; Babu Mushtaq Rai; and Lala Sheo Dial, Cloth Merchant. In response to an appeal made by Sande Khan, a sum of about Rs. 30 was subscribed in order to petition Government to put a stop to the slaughter of cows. This man also urged that an asylum should be established for the maintenance of old and infirm cattle. The Gauraksha Sabha and Singh Sabha lately established at Simla were now reported to have been broken up.

56. On the 10th June 1884 Ganesh Das, Brahmin, and Ramji Das Khatri, members of the Brahmo Samaj, in an open-air address at Lahore condemned the practice of kine-killing and the refusal of Hindus to eat with other castes. The latter part

of their discourse gave offence and they were advised to eat with sweepers.

57. A suspicious character named Lehna Singh, *alias* Karm Singh, was arrested by the Police at Baghapurana, in the Ferozpur District, in the middle of June 1884. He was believed to be one of the Kukas proclaimed in the Amritsar butcher murders of 1871 who are still at large. Shortly after his apprehension he attempted to escape and made a rush in the direction of the place where the arms of the Police were kept, but was recaptured. On this he became exasperated, and in a loud voice exclaimed that he had previously avenged the blood of the cow by killing those who shed it. He rebuked the Sikhs present for not allowing him to arm himself, declaring that it was not his intention to do them any harm, but to murder the servants of the Government who permitted cows to be slaughtered.

58. On the 21st June 1884 a report was current in Gurdaspur that cow-killing had ceased in Hindustan, and that *rakhs* had been purchased for grazing infirm cattle. Hindus of the Punjab were expected to help with money.

59. About the same time it was reported from Gujranwala that the cow question had been discussed at a meeting of the Singh Sabha in Hafizabad, and that the Hindus stated that the Muhammadans had issued a *fatwa* declaring cow-killing to be unlawful.

60. A dispute between Hindus and Muhammadans in Hujra in consequence of two Hindus having killed and eaten a wild pig was reported from Montgomery. These men were rebuked by their co-religionists in council, and in the end it was settled that the Muhammadans should not kill cows and the Hindus should look upon pigs as unlawful.

61. In the week ending 21st June 1884 a meeting took place in Delhi at the house of Babu Kidarnath, School Master, and

subscriptions were made to the funds of the Gauraksha Sabha. Banarsi Das, Gusain, who made himself notorious by proceeding to England a few years ago to present a petition praying that the slaughter of cows might be prohibited (evidently the same man noted as itinerating in the Hindu States in Central India and Rajputana in August 1882), was reported to be again moving about from place to place for the pupose of agitating the subject afresh. He remained three or four days at Delhi, where he is said to be very popular, and gave recitations in presence of large numbers of people at the bathing *ghats*. He was reported to be on his way to Jummoo to interview the Maharaja. His visit was probably connected with the Gauraksha meetings then being held at Delhi and elsewhere. Lachman Das, Vakil of the Maharaja of Benares, was noted passing through Delhi *en route* to Simla with the object of interviewing the Viceroy on the subject of cow-killing. In opposition to the Hindu agitation the Muhammadans of Delhi were reported to be preparing a counter-memorial for submission to Government, begging that the slaughter of kine might be permitted, not only at the public slaughter-yard, but also at private dwellings in the city on the occasion of Muhammadan festivals. Aziz-ud-din, Pleader, and Maulvi Muhammad Yakub (who was the cause of the disturbances at the Id in October 1883) were said to be at the head of the movement, and meetings were held in the house of Muhammad Ibrahim, of the firm of Wali Muhammad & Co.

62. In the end of June 1884 a report came from Karnal that there was an impression among the Hindus in that district that the Russians would put a stop to cow-killing if they ever conquered India.

63. The agitation in Umballa concerning this question was now reported to have subsided, Mirchi Mal, baniah, having intimated that, under orders from the Deputy Commissioner

of Simla, he had been obliged to close the Gauraksha Sabha. But it was said that efforts were being made secretly to keep up the society, and that at a private meeting held by Lala Charan Das, Mirchi Mal and Than Singh a short time before, it was decided not to drop the subject, but to collect funds as originally intended.

64. In Mooltan, at this time, some Hindus were heard to say that, notwithstanding the riots that occurred in 1881, beef was still brought into the city, and that if the leading Hindus could only be induced to move in the matter and spend money freely, something might be done. On the 20th June 1884, during the religious fair at the shrine of Mian Abdul Hakim, the Hindus threatened to leave because a cow had been killed near the fair; but after some trouble they were pacified. The bakers were to blame and were warned.

65. Early in July 1884 Shughan Chand, Post Master of Rohtak, was reported to be taking a prominent part in the agitation concerning the cow question, and was said to have informed the Kaiths of Rohtak that if he remained there a little longer he would entirely put a stop to cow-killing. (This would appear to be the same individual mentioned above as establishing Committees in communication with the Central Committee at Benares.)

66. On the 8th July 1884 one Muhamdu of Amritsar reported at the Kotwali that as he was about to cook some beef in his house, a Hindu named Wazira rushed in and carried it off. The latter, it was ascertained on enquiry, wished to take the beef to the Kotwali, but afterwards returned it when he found that his co-religionists would not support him. He was warned.

67. During the week ending 12th July 1884 another meeting of the Cow-preserving Society took place at Delhi in the house of Girdhari Lal, Pleader, and about Rs. 700 were subscribed by members of the baniah caste.

68. During the week ending the 19th July 1884 the Hindus of Mooltan endeavoured to create excitement by giving a religious colouring to the act of a Muhammadan in the city who had cut off the tail of a heifer. Crowds, which had collected in different parts of the city, were dispersed, and the Muhammadan was convicted under Section 428 of the Indian Penal Code. During the same week five Hindus of Monan in the Hazara district complained that two men had offended their religious prejudices by killing a bullock on the bank of the stream near their village.

69. The *Farsi Akhbar*, published at Lahore, in its issue of the 22nd July, published an article to the effect that the European practice of eating beef is the main cause of the present ill-feeling between the Hindus and Muhammadans and that the Hindus should urge upon Government the necessity for the prohibition of kine slaughter.

70. About the 24th July a rumour was prevalent in the Ludhiana district that Mahant Bhagwan Singh, Kuka, of Amritsar, had despatched letters to Subas Jamait Singh of Gil (Sialkot), Sarmukh Singh of Laluwala (Patiala), Samand Singh of Kahuta (Ferozpur), Wazir Singh of Muthada (Jullundur), and Budh Singh of Bhaini, warning them that the Muhammadans intended to open a slaughter-house near the Gurdwara, and that the Kukas should hold themselves in readiness to proceed to Amritsar.

71. Bawa Narain Singh, Vakil of Amritsar, on 26th July issued notices that he had started an establishment for cows and would receive any animals sent to him.

72. The rumour that cow-killing will be put a stop to if the Russians conquer India continued in circulation in the Karnal district.

73. About the 5th August a monster petition, alleged to be the petition of 8,000 Muhammadans of the Delhi city, was for-

warded to the Government of the Punjab. The principal point urged in this petition was the right of the Muhammadans to slaughter cows within the city and in their houses. The Hindus of Delhi were at this time reported to be forwarding a memorial praying that the slaughter of cows may be prohibited and had collected about 3,000 rupees to defray the expenses of submitting the petition to Government.

74. Early in August, Shughan Chand, Post Master of Rohtak, who had been transferred to Murree, held a secret meeting at the dharmsala in Rawalpindi. He was said to have prepared a memorial on the subject of cow-killing for submission to the Viceroy, and to be supported by Sardar Nihal Singh and Bahadur Singh, contractor, at Kuldanna. The Maharaja of Jummoo was reported to be greatly interested in the movement.

75. It being given out that the petition of the Muhammadans of Delhi, praying for permission to slaughter cows within their dwellings on the occasion of the Bakr-Id festival, had been rejected, the *Dar-ul-Saltanat* of Calcutta, in its issue of the 13th August, published an article giving reasons why the Muhammadans should not be deprived of this privilege.

76. During the week ending the 16th August it was ascertained that the following persons were members of the Cow-preserving Society at Murree:- Sukhdial, Clerk in the Phoenix Carrying Company; Haim Raj, Accountant in the Murree Tahsil; and Bani Babu, Clerk in the Rawalpindi Post Office. During September the rumour was reported from Delhi that the Muhammadans were preparing a second petition to Government, praying for permission to slaughter cattle at their private dwellings.

77. In the beginning of August a butcher had entered the town of Narot in the Gurdaspur district with some buffalo horns tied up in a sheet. On this the Hindus declared that beef had

been brought into the town, and considerable ill-feeling existed for some little time between the Hindus and Muhammadans, which, however, only extended to the constant making of false charges against individuals. The Hindus who took the most prominent part were Nand Lal, sahukar; Sandal, Rajput; Ganga Ram; Amir Chand, Chaudhri; and Ganga, merchant.

78. In the issue for October 1884 of the *Farsi Akhbar* the Editor published an article to the effect that although kine are slaughtered by Muhammadan butchers, yet it is done by order of the authorities, who desire that disunion should prevail between the Hindus and Muhammadans.

79. In the early part of the month ill-feeling was reported to exist in the village of Durga in the Amritsar district in consequence of the Muhammadan lambardar having sacrificed a cow outside the village. No actual disturbance, however, took place.

80. About the same time it was ascertained that the blacksmiths and other Muhammadans of Jagadhri were raising funds for the purpose of having the slaughter-houses moved into the town.

81. Travellers from Meerut gave out that a riot had occurred there in consequence of an attempt having been made by the Muhammadans to sacrifice a cow in a mosque instead of at the slaughter yard. 'It was rumoured that, in order to retaliate on the Muhammadans for their behaviour in killing cows during the Id festival, the Hindu mercantile community had arranged to combine and discontinue employing Muhammadan workpeople.

82. Throughout November and December 1884 Ala Ram, Sadhu, continued to frequent the neighbourhood of the Golden Temple at Amritsar, and to exhort the people to join Bawa Narain Singh in his attempt to put a stop to cow-killing.

83. On the 23rd November a meeting of Hindus took place in the house of Ramji Lal in the Sadr Bazar at Jullundur, at which it was proposed to petition Government to prohibit the sale of beef.

84. Lecturing at Lahore in December 1884, Thakur Das, Native Doctor, condemned the use of animal food, and said the flesh of the cow was especially harmful. Apart from this he urged that it was a reproach to kill so useful an animal. In the same month a meeting of Dusars, Brahmin, &c., was held at Rewari, under the presidency of Atma Ram, Sanyasi, to make arrangements for the feed and protection of worn-out and diseased cattle.

1885

85. In January 1885 it was reported from Amritsar that Bawa Narain Singh, Pleader, of Amritsar, who had formerly delivered lectures openly, had lately held his meetings with in closed doors and only members of the Arya Samaj were admitted to them.

86. In the same month it was reported that in consequence of a case of cow-killing which occurred in village Dograi in the Montgomery District, and in which the Muhammadans were judicially punished, the ill-feeling between the Hindus and Muhammadans in that locality was on the increase. The Deputy Commissioner remarked that the Hindus of the Montgomery District were inclined to put a stop to the slaughter of kine altogether and were boycotting people who kill kine, even when the rules laid down by Government had been complied with.

87. In a dispute between the Hindus and Muhammadans of Khairpur regarding kine-killing, the Council of the

Bahawalpur State gave their decision in favour of the latter and permitted them to slaughter kine inside the city. The Hindus were said to be much aggrieved at this order.

88. About the middle of May the Hindus in Ludhiana city were talking of raising subscriptions to defray the cost of legal proceedings against the butchers who go about the streets selling beef openly. It was stated that if they failed to obtain redress in Ludhiana, they intended to lay their case before the authorities at Lahore. During the same month the Hindus of Bakot complained against a bad character named Majid for killing a cow near a dharmshala. No riot, however, occurred, the Police being on the spot.

89. A Gauraksha Committee meeting was held in May in the house of Madan Gopal, Pleader of Delhi, and was presided over by Maharaja Lal, Pleader. The resolutions that were passed were sent to Lahore for publication.

90. About the first week of July some Hindu residents of Ludhiana city were overheard to remark that if England went to war with Russia the Hindus should take advantage of the opportunity to massacre all the butchers in the country.

91. It was reported early in August that the members of the Arya Samaj at Amritsar had collected subscriptions for the purpose of memorialising the Viceroy to suppress cow-killing.

92. On the 17th August a dispute arose between some Hindus and Muhammadans at Jullundur regarding the purchase by the latter of cows attached by the former in Civil cases and sold by auction. The Hindus were desirous of having an order passed prohibiting butchers from bidding for cows put up for auction when the decree-holders were Hindus. The matter was, however, settled by the Cantonment Magistrate without disturbance. About the 22nd of the same month an anonymous petition was submitted to the Deputy Commissioner of Karnal regarding the slaughter of kine in the town

of Panipat; but Police enquiry showed that there were no grounds for complaint.

93. Two cows or oxen had been daily slaughtered in the Nawab of Bahawalpur's palace, under His Highness' orders, since the 9th September 1885, at the instance of Mian Ghulam Farid, the Nawab's *pir*. The Hindus of the city were much aggrieved at this sacrifice of cows, and during September 1885 were reported to be holding consultations about it. They stated that in the previous year the Nawab ordered 45 cows to be sacrificed; but when the report caused a panic among the Hindus, His Highness countermanded his order.

94. The slaughter of four head of cattle in a private yard in the town of Hoshiarpur on the day of the Id by Maulvi Mian Muhammad and five others led to considerable excitement at the time. The offenders were prosecuted in the Court of the Magistrate of the District under Section 34 of the Rules published in Punjab Government Circular No.12–4581, dated 19th December 1881, for regulating the slaughter of kine, and four of the principal offenders were sentenced to pay a fine of Rs. 50 each or in default to be imprisoned for one month and fifteen days. The other two accused were discharged.

95. An aggravated case of cow-killing was about this time reported from Rahon. It appears that on the 20th September Waja Muhammad, a pensioned Deputy Inspector of Police, and his son, Muhammad Husen, sacrificed a cow in their house. On hearing the news a large number of Hindus assembled in front of the place, and but for the presence of the Police would have committed a breach of the peace. The Hindus had been much incensed at finding bones of animals scattered near a certain well and two of their temples. They made an attempt to burn down some butchers' houses, and declared that they would create a disturbance on the day of the Muharram. The Magistrate of the District sentenced Waja

Muhammad to pay a fine of Rs. 250, and his son Muhammad Husen to one year's rigorous imprisonment. The agitation between Hindus and Muhammadans subsided.

96. It was given out in Delhi that the Muhammadans throughout India intended to memorialise Government for permission to sacrifice cows for religious purposes within their own dwellings – a privilege which they formerly enjoyed.

97. There was a quarrel between the Muhammadans and Hindus of Umballa city in consequence of the latter having complained to the authorities that on the day of the Id some Muhammadans brought in a barrowful of beef through the *mandi* and past a temple, whence a procession was about to start on the occasion of a local fair. The Deputy Commissioner directed that beef should not be brought into the city from that direction.

98. Shughan Chand of Delhi, who took a prominent part in the cow-killing agitation in the previous year, was stated to have been preaching so successfully against the sale of beef and pork at Samrial that inhabitants of that town decided to put a stop to it in future.

99. A slight dispute is said to have occurred between the Muhammadans and Hindus of Chichawatni in consequence of some Muhammadan dhobis having on the day of the Id killed a cow and brought its flesh into the village. A good deal of friction and bad feeling was reported to be in existence between Hindus and Muhammadans in Hoshiarpur owing to recent cases of cow-killing. Absurd and wild rumours were spread that serious rioting was expected, and some people took the precaution to bury their jewels and money.

100. The Muhammadans of Delhi were reported to have raised subcriptions amounting to Rs. 11,000 to defray expenses in connection with a memorial which they intended to submit to Government praying, amongst other concessions, for per-

mission to slaughter kine in their private houses, as in the days before the Mutiny. It was rumoured that the Punjab Muhammadans had instigated the butchers to stop killing cows and to close their shops until their grievances are redressed.

101. Some bad feeling was created amongst the Hindus and Muhammadans at Isa Khel in the Bannu district by the fact that the Hindus alleged that cow's flesh had been thrown into the streets during the Dasehra fastival. No actual disturbance, however, took place. At the letting in of the water in to the Umar Khan Canal on the 14th October some bullocks had been killed and the flesh distributed. The Hindus of Isa Khel hearing of this pretended to believe that the blood had flowed into the water of the canal, and for a time closed the water channels in the town going through the bazar. The affair, however, cooled down and nothing occurred to necessitate the taking of any special precautionary measures. At Chiniot also, in the Jhang district, two pieces of meat were found some days after the Muharram in a well used by the Hindus. The meat was supposed to be beef, and there was some little excitement, which, however, calmed down without any actual disturbance taking place.

102. About 2,000 persons were reported to have been present at the Arya Samaj meeting in Amritsar city on the 18th October, Bawa Narain Singh, Pleader being in the chair. One of the resolutions passed was that steps should be taken to put a stop to cow-killing.

103. Haji Kutb-ud-din, one of the leading Panjabi merchants in Delhi, was reported to be very active in stirring up his friends and co-religionists to memorialise Government to permit them to slaughter cows in the city for *kurbani*. The *Anjuman-i-Islamia* of Delhi continued to hold its meetings, at which the subject of the slaughter of cows for *kurbani* within

the city walls was constantly discussed. Private meetings were convened at the house of Mirza Suleiman Shah of the ex-Royal family.

104. Some ill-feeling arose between the Hindus and Muhammadans in Chunian in consequence of two Muhammadans having killed an old cow for the sake of its hide. No breach of the peace, however, was committed.

105. Certain Muhmmadans of Kalar Kalan, Police Station Atari, were reported to kill cows openly, and to have established a shop for the sale of beef. A case of cow-killing by a Muhammadan was also reported from village Dya Ram, Police Station Dipalpur.

106. On the 25th November the Bakri tribe killed a cow in the town of Pakpattan. The Hindus and Muhammadans were annoyed in consequence and intended to report the matter. In connection with this case it was reported that the Hindu shop-keepers refused to buy cloth made by the *Bakris* (weavers), and also to sell goods to any person who deals with them.

107. About the middle of December a Muhammadan of Bughiana, Police Station Bhai Pheru, purchased a cow for slaughter. The Hindus having heard that some of the beef had been brought into the village for sale assembled in a state of great excitement, placed a watch over the Muhammadan's house, and sent for the Police.

108. It was reported about this time that some of the Muhammadans of Vadala Police Station Dharmkot, in the Sialkot District, out of deference to the feelings of the Hindus proposed to stop killing kine. A minority were, however, opposed to the change.

109. During December there was no abatement of ill-feeling between the Hindus and Muhammadans of Hoshiarpur and Hariana. The sole object of the former seemed to be to coerce the latter into discontinuing the practice of killing kine

and selling beef.

110. The Hindus of Majitha, in the Amritsar district, opened separate shops for the sale of meat in consequence of a suspicion that the butchers brought beef into the town and sold it there.

111. The order for collecting cattle to be slaughtered for the use of the Camp of Exercise was reported to have given rise to ill- feeling among Hindus, officials and non-officials, through whom the animals have to be purchased.

112. During December 1885 Ala Ram, Sadhu, of Amritsar, continued to preach, enjoining on the Hindus to join the Arya Samaj and to raise funds for the protection of cows.

1886

113. It was reported in January 1886 that the Muhammadans of Hamza, Police Station Kathunangal, were in the habit of slaughtering kine in that village and selling beef secretly in Majitha, and that in consequence the Hindus of the latter place purchased meat from *Thiwars*. A compromise was effected between the Muhammadans and Hindus, but the latter still professed to be afraid that the former would do something to annoy them.

114. It was also reported that some baniahs of Sonepat had had cow-killing put a stop to in that town, and that the brick-layers were agitating to get the order cancelled. The Hindus of Panipat and Karnal were said to be combining to counteract the action of the Muhammadans.

115. On the 2nd February Baba Ala Ram, Sanyasi, delivered an address in the Dabbi Bazar at Lahore in which he urged that subscriptions should be collected for the purchase of horned cattle to save them from being slaughtered, and for the establishment of *rakhs* for them in every village.

116. Eight baniahs of Umballa assembled in a temple in the grain market on the 19th February to concert measures for the prevention of cow-killing in the city; and the agitation against kine-killing in the towns of Panipat and Sonepat still continued.
117. Soon after this it was reported that the Muhammadans of Delhi showed great interest in the matter of the memorial submitted to Government, praying for permission to slaughter cows for *kurbani* within the city walls. They seemed to think that sanction would be accorded to the petition.
118. Some ill-feeling arose in March 1886 between the Hindus and Muhammadans of village Kohar, Police Station Naurangabad, on account of certain *musallis* having killed a sick cow for the sake of its flesh and hide. The matter was reported to the Deputy Commissioner, who warned the Hindus.
119. In the same' month certain shoemakers of village Hamza, Police Station Kathunangal, were reported to be in the habit of purchasing old and infirm cattle at low prices for the sake of their flesh and hides. The Hindus of surrounding villages in consequence gave up selling cattle to them and drinking water from wells in their village.
120. In April of the same year, Babu Chakarabarti, a Railway employee at Muzaffargarh, complained to the Police that a butcher had killed a cow next door to his house, and the leading Hindus of Muzaffargarh ceased for some time to buy any meat from the sheep and goat butchers in the town, believing that they were concerned in the slaughter of the cow at the Railway Station.
121. Thakur Singh, lambardar of Vagi, and one Sher Singh had given the Christian Missionaries some land in that village. Ala Ram, Sadhu, of the Arya Samaj, was deputed to the village to explain to Thakur Singh and Sher Singh that the establishment of a Christian settlement is certain to be followed by cow-killing, and to persuade them by religious ar-

guments to revoke the grant of land.

122. Soon after this it was given out by Jowala Singh of Pheruman, Police Station Wazir Bhular, that although Guru Ram Singh was dead, a *Kalgi avatar* (spotless incarnation of the deity) would shortly appear, as cow-killing is on the increase.

123. The *Khair Khwah-i-Kashmir* (Lahore), in its issue of the 13th May 1886, stated that beef was openly sold in public streets at Bahawalpur, and urged the Darbar to put a stop to the evil.

124. Hakim Singh, Deputy Inspector of Police, Khalra, District Lahore, was reported to have said that if it were true that cow-killing was about to be permitted in Kashmir, serious disturbances would occur.

125. In June 1886 a number of Nihangs were said to be holding meetings twice a day at the Akal Bunga to discuss the cow question and consult as to the advisability of petitioning the Deputy Commissioner and His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor to prevent beef from being brought into Amritsar city.

126. Early in July, acting on the advice of a Bairagi *fakir*, the baniahs, of Hissar entered into a compact to outbid the butchers of the town in purchasing Commissariat cattle, and Rs. 3,000 was subscribed for the purpose. In the same month a movement was set on foot among the Hindus of Ludhiana city to collect funds for the purchase of a grazing-ground for cattle.

127. About this time a rumour was current at Delhi that the Maharaja of Kashmir, at the urgent request of Government, had sanctioned the location of British troops in his territories, but afterwards cancelled his order in consequence of some European having killed a cow. It was also rumoured that excitement existed in Kashmir owing to some officers on leave

there having allowed their dogs to worry three cows.
128. Towards the end of July Maulvis Muhammad Yakub and Muhammad Shah of Delhi began collecting subscriptions in order to agitate for permission to slaughter cows for *kurbani* within the city during the approaching Id-ul-Zuha festival.
129. The Hindus of Kapurthala were said to have purchased a piece of land as a grazing ground for cows, and to be prepared to pay as much as Rs. 10 for old and worthless animals in order to save them from falling into the hands of butchers.
130. A rumour reached Samrala in August 1886 that four Kukas who visited Kabul on their way to Russian territory were killed in a fight caused by some Kabulis having exposed beef in their presence. On the 14th of August it was reported that the Hindus of Sinanwan in the Muzaffargarh district intended to prosecute two Muhammadans for killing a cow near that village.
131. A number of influential Hindus in Dasuya were said to be collecting money in order to purchase lean and worn-out cattle and save them from the butchers who starve them to death for the sake of their hides. All Hindus were invited to subscribe.
132. One Pandit Din Dial held a meeting at Jagadhri about the middle of August to consult as to the advisability of putting a stop to cow-killing.
133. In the early part of September 1886 the Hindus of Karnal began to agitate the beef question on account of the approaching Id festival. They professed to apprehend a disturbance owing to the alleged intention of the Muhammadans to slaughter cattle and carry the meat through the town in uncovered baskets. It is unlikely, however, if any intelligent Hindus really believed these reports.
134. The *Aftab-i-Punjab* (Lahore), in its issue of the 6th September 1886, referred to the frequent occurrence of disputes

between Hindus and Muhammadans in connection with the killing of kine on the day of the Id, and advised Muhammadans to refrain from killing kine in deference to the feelings of the Hindus, inasmuch as their religion does not specially inculcate the killing of these animals.

135. In September 1886 the bad feeling between the Hindus and Muhammadans, of Delhi culminated in a serious riot, in which it was found necessary to call in the assistance of the troops. Although the ostensible reason for the riot was a collision of the two sects in the course of a religious procession, it may be regarded as the result of the bad feeling which had its origin in the Muhammadans having sacrificed about 450 head of cattle at the Bakar Id.

136. On the occasion of the Id at Ludhiana there was evidence of a combined arrangement beforehand on the part of the leading Hindus, and especially members of the Arya Samaj, to do their best to stop the sacrifice of cows. A rumour was spread that some Muhammadans had sacrificed a cow at a public well, and the Hindus proceeded to seize some meat being legitimately brought from the shambles. The Muhammadans retaliated by attacking the Hindus in certain streets, and for some hours there was much disturbance in parts of the city.

137. The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), in its issue of the 15th September 1886, published an account of the riots at Ludhiana, and stated that the Muhammadans decked out a cow and killed her, and unprovokedly attacked the Hindus, who wished to carry the carcass to the house of the Deputy Commissioner.

138. At Umballa on the occasion of the coincidence of the festival of the Id and a comparatively unimportant Hindu celebration termed the *Bawan Dawadsi* a riot appeared imminent in consequence of a cart load of beef having been taken past a tank where some Hindus were collected. The Muham-

madans who accompanied the cart were at once arrested by the Police, but the behaviour of the Hindus, who refused to disperse when ordered to do so by the Deputy Commissioner, necessitated some 50 arrests being made. The Hindus were defended in Court by Murli Dhar, a Pleader of Umballa, and the trial created considerable ill-feeling between the members of the two religions. The *Koh-i-Nur* (Lahore), in its issue of the 28th September 1886, published a distorted account of the Id riots at Umballa, and stated that goats were brought to be publicly killed, and that beef was also reported to have been boiled (*sic*). About this time it was rumoured that the Hindus of Simla intended to submit a petition praying that the slaughter-house might be removed from its present site on account of its proximity to the *dharmsala*. A movement was also said to be on foot among the Muhammadans of Delhi to memorialise Parliament for permission to kill kine in their houses – a privilege which they enjoyed before the Mutiny.

139. The *Wasir-ul-Mulk* (Sialkot), in its issue of the 12th October 1886, referring to the frequent outbreaks between the Hindus and Muhammadans in connection with the killing of kine by the latter, urged the Muhammadans to abstain from killing those animals.

140. Early in October the rumour was current in the Amritsar district that, owing to the establishment of military stations in Kashmir, cow-killing had been started there. Diwan Lachman Das had ordered two European soldiers to be hanged for shooting a nilgai, and refused to listen to the protests of the Resident, who had reported the matter to the Viceroy.

141. In the same month the cow question was discussed by the Arya Samaj in Amritsar city, and one of the plans proposed for adoption by the Society was to outbid the butchers at the approaching Diwali Cattle Fair, and to purchase all the cows and place them in the cattle-yard built by Bawa Narain

Singh, Pleader. Funds were being raised for this purpose, and Narain Singh had placards posted up in the city calling upon Hindus to assist in the good cause. The lectures delivered against cow-killing by members of the Arya Samaj caused some excitement, and Hindus were heard to say that during the cattle fair they would invite the Manja Jats to pick a quarrel with butchers and cattle-dealers from the frontier districts who buy cows, for the purpose of slaughtering them. It was also said that the Hindus proposed to pay Government three lakhs of rupees annually if they would put a stop to cow-killing, and that Sardar Gurdial Singh, then Assistant Commissioner at Ludhiana, took great interest in the matter. Bawa Narain Singh, Pleader, bought about 500 head of cattle, outbidding Muhammadan purchasers. All the animals were very old and useless, and he intended to send them to Hardwar, where it was said some grazing land had been secured. Subscriptions were raised for the purchasė of these animals, placards being posted in different parts of the city inviting Hindus to come forward with their money and afford protection to the cow.

142. Soon after this the Hindus of Murree declined to buy meat in the bazar, as they said the Bazar Sergeant there stamped goats with the same brand as that with which he marked cows, &c., before they were slaughtered.

143. The *Kaisari* (Jullundur), in its issues of the 23rd and 30th October 1886, also published articles regarding the slaughter of kine in that station.

144. At a meeting of the Arya Samaj in Amritsar on the 31st October, Bawa Narain Singh announced that 900 head of cattle had been purchased by the Society at the Diwali fair, 500 of them being old and useless cows, and had thus been saved from falling into the hands of Muhammadans. He pointed out that it was incumbent on all Hindus to endure any amount

of bodily pain and consider themselves lifeless, or, in other words, to bravely protect the cow. A large number of persons assembled to worship the animals, which were despatched to Hardwar the same day by road in charge of twenty servants. Letters were addressed to Hindu Chiefs and others inviting them to co-operate by sending as many lean and worn-out cows as they could collect to the Arya Samaj, which was prepared to purchase them, and requesting that the animals might not be sold to butchers. The Pandit Sabha of Amritsar also bought about 100 cows at the cattle fair, and sent 27 of them to Hardwar by rail on the 5th November. Nawal Singh a member of the Arya Samaj, proceeding to Hardwar from Amritsar in charge of 312 cows, arrived at Jandiala on the 1st November, and preached to a crowded audience for two hours in the bazar on the subject of protecting the cow. Some six or seven old animals were made over to him by Hindus of the town, who also gave him money for their road expenses. One of these cows had been previously bought from a Muhammadan.

145. Pandit Dharm Chand delivered two addresses at Amritsar on the 7th and 13th November at the meetings of the Arya Samaj, which were largely attended. He pointed out the good that had been done by the purchase of old and infirm cows and bullocks at the Diwali fair. On the 7th November Bawa Narain Singh invited the Hindus to witness the departure of a batch of cows to Hardwar, and the city band headed the procession which followed the animals. A letter was afterwards received announcing that, on the arrival of the cows at Jullundur, the Hindus presented 18 more animals and provided money for their road expenses, and that a cow-protecting society was to be established at Jullundur.

146. About 800 cows were collected at Ludhiana for despatch to Hardwar including some 300 sent from Amritsar in charge

of Ala Ram, Sadhu; and the Hindus of Ludhiana subscribed Rs. 800 to purchase more animals. The Muhammadans in the villages took advantage of this to sell their useless cattle to the Hindus. The latter, however, did not carry their enthusiasm so far as to pay fancy prices, but would only give what the animals were worth.

147. It was rumoured in November 1886 that the Hindu Singh Sabha at Simla and the *Khalsa Gazette* at Lahore were trying to suppress cow-killing, and that members of the Arya Samaj were enlisting in the Army and using their influence with the sepoys to put a stop to the practice. The Muhammadans, on the other hand, declared that they would never forego their religious observances i.e., so far as the sacrifice of cows is concerned. until ordered to do so by Government.

148. In consequence of a rumour spread by three *khatiks* at Delhi, that certain Muhammadan butchers sprinkled cow's blood on goats before slaughtering them, the Hindus stopped buying goat's meat. The *kumhars* (potters) were advised by Hindus not to sell earthen milk jars to Muhammadan milkmen in order that the latter might be put to inconvenience and their trade might suffer.

149. At the meeting of the Amritsar Arya Samaj on the 20th November a letter from Nawal Singh was read, intimating his arrival with a batch of cows at Ludhiana, where the Hindus gave them a grand reception. Bawa Narain Singh addressed letters to the Lahore, Ferozpur and Jullundur branches of the Arya Samaj, urging that subscriptions should be collected for the purchase of cows and every effort made to outbid butchers. Dhari and Suchet, Khatris, of Chitta Katra, were reported to be going about the city of Amritsar exhorting people to subscribe funds for the protection of cows, paying their money to the Arya Samaj. The Society contemplated securing some land in the Gurdaspur District, where cows

rescued from Muhammadans could be kept.

150. A correspondent of the *Koh-i-Nur*, published at Lahore, in its issue dated the 27th November 1886, in pointing out that the recent riots between the Hindus and Muhummadans were the result of the slaughter of kine, stated that the Hindus are mistaken in creating a disturbance against the Muhammadans on this account since it is the Europeans who use beef, and were it not for them the Muhammadans would not indulge in kine slaughter.

151. On the 1st December Ala Ram, Sadhu, arrived at Umballa from Ludhiana with a batch of cows *en route* to Hardwar. He convened a meeting of Hindus in the city, at which it was resolved to raise funds for the purchase of grazing land for the animals.The Committee appointed to collect the money consisted of Bishan Das, Khatri; Bishambar Das and Thakur Das, baniahs; Ram Lal, Kalal; Lehna Singh, Jat; Kaith Das, baniah; and Dewa Singh, Kalal. The four former were members of the Umballa Municipal Committee, and took prominent parts in the disturbances during the recent Muharram and Dasehra festivals.

152. The Hindus of Beri in the Rohtak district held a meeting and decided to form a fund for the purchase of old and useless cattle. The animals were to be turned loose in a *rakh* near Georgegarh belonging to Raja Kalian Singh, which had been offered for the purpose free of charge. The money for the purchase of such cattle was to be collected by fixed payments on marriages and on the performance of religious ceremonies.

153. Persons who attended a meeting held in the house of Lehna Singh, Jat, of Umballa city, on the 11th December, were exhorted to subscribe largely to the fund for purchasing cows and keeping them out of the hands of the butchers.

154. Sain Das, of the Arya Samaj, Lahore, stated at Amritsar on the 14th December that the Society had published two

books on the subject of protecting the cow, viz., the *Gau-dharm-sar*, by Lala Mohan Lal, of Fatehgarh, North-Western Provinces, sold at two annas a copy, and the *Gau-mahatam*, by Swami Parkash Nand Saraswati, sold at one anna a copy, and that a monthly magazine on the same subject would be started at Hardwar.

155. On the 20th December some Muhammadans of Chichawatni, having killed a cow, brought the flesh into the village, where they were assaulted by a number of Hindus. Other Muhammadans then collected and a riot ensued. Twelve Hindus and thirteen Muhammadans were arrested and sent for trial under Section 147, Indian Penal Code.

1887

156. On the 7th January 1887 a meeting of the Singh Sabha was held at the house of Lehna Singh, Jat, of Umballa city, and was attended by about fifty persons, including Bishan Das, Bishambar Das and Thakur Das, members of the Municipal Committee. One of the subjects discussed was the possibility of keeping all cattle out of the hands of Muhammadans, so as to put a stop to kine-killing.

157. The *Anjuman-i-Punjab* (Lahore), in its issue of the 26th February 1887, stated that at Bombay the Muhammadan butchers voluntarily refrained from killing kine on the 16th February in deference to the feelings of the Hindus, and that the Bombay Government had recorded a resolution expressing satisfaction at the good feeling existing between the two classes.

158. On the 2nd March of the same year the Hindus of Shamgarh objected to the Muhammadan *telis* bringing beef into the village, and a quarrel arose between them, and the latter were ill-

treated. The Hindus afterwards became alarmed at their action and pacified the Muhammadans by paying them Rs. 100. This appeared to have been an organised attempt by certain local Brahmins reckoning on support from certain officials and the Shamgarh Sardar to intimidate the Mussalman residents from the lawful use of beef in a customary manner.

159. In March 1887 Bawa Narain Singh, pleader, issued notices inviting subscriptions for the purchase of cows during the Baisakhi fair, and pointing out that the freedom from sickness enjoyed by the people was entirely due to their having contributed liberally to the fund raised for the protection of cows at the last Diwali Cattle Fair; but in April it was reported that Bawa Narain Singh having withdrawn his name from the Singh Sabha, no cows were purchased at the Baisakhi Cattle Fair at Amritsar.

160. A few Hindus of Ludhiana city, headed by Kishori Lal and Shib Charan Das, still talked of trying to put a stop to cow-killing.

161. Ichra Singh, a *kahar* of Fatehgarh, district Gurdaspur, having in June 1887 opened a shop in Sutar Mandi, Lahore city, for the sale of *jhatka* meat, the Muhammadans took offence and, headed by Nawab Ghulam Mahbub Subhani and Sheikh Sande Khan, threatened to retaliate by opening a shop for the sale of beef.

162. Certain Muhammadans of Kinjar in the Muzaffargarh district who were sent up for trial for cow-killing were discharged, and this gave rise to ill-feeling between the Hindus and Muhammadans of that locality.

163. Bhai Amar Singh and Pandit Telu Ram from Lahore delivered lectures at a meeting of the Arya Samaj at Ludhiana on the 27th June. They pointed out that the cow was a sacred animal, and that every effort should be made to prevent it from being ill-treated or killed. Ramji Das, Treasurer, was present at the meeting.

164. A printed pamphlet entitled *Gau-mahatam* (merits of cow-protection) by Babu Chheda Lal, of Kaimganj in the Farukhabad District, published by Lala Mohan Lal, President of the Cow-protection Society at Hardwar, was reported in July to be in circulation in Amritsar. The *Sarb Deshak Hardwar Gaurakshni Sabha* (Universal Cow-protection Society at Hardwar) also issued a set of rules for the Society, copies of which were sent to Amritsar.

165. At a meeting of the Arya Samaj in Amritsar city on the 19th June it was announced that the Arya Samaj at Agra was preaching vigorously on the subject of cow-killing and denouncing the practice in strong terms. At a meeting of the Arya Samaj in Amritsar city on the 27th June Pandit Lekh Raj stated that Sundar Das, who took a number of cows to Hardwar, had returned. Ganga Ram, a member of the Society, made known to the meeting that the application of the Hindus for the issue of orders forbidding the slaughter of cows on account of the Queen's Jubilee had been refused by Government. Bawa Narain Singh, Pleader of Amritsar, was said to have arranged with the Kashmir authorities to collect and send cows and bullocks to Jummoo in order to prevent them from being killed in this country.

166. It was reported at Delhi that Murli Dhar, Vakil of Umballa, who was tried and convicted in connection with the Muharram riots of the previous year, but was acquitted on appeal to the Chief Court, has since gained great notoriety and influence by agitating against the slaughter of cows for *kurbani* at the Id festival.

167. A report received from Dasuya in the early part of July stated that the members of the Arya Samaj were endeavouring to stop kine-killing by purchasing all cattle that had become useless and would under ordinary circumstances have been slaughtered.

168. Maharaj Kamar, a Brahmin of Muttra, who had been travelling about the country collecting subscriptions and obtaining the signatures of the leading Hindus to a memorial to the Government of India praying that the slaughter of kine, monkeys, and other animals might be prohibited in that city, was reported on the 9th July to be in Mooltan putting up with one Behari Lal. He collected Rs. 400 at Dera Ismail Khan, Rs. 300 at Dera Ghazi Khan, and Rs. 75 at Mooltan. It was considered possible that the money might be intended for some other purpose.

169. At a meeting held in Umballa city by Bhai Amar Singh and Pandit Telu Ram of Lahore on the 4th July about 400 people were present. Bhai Amar Singh said that God had given them sight and every day they could see kine-killing going on. The cow was held sacred by all Hindus: its milk afforded people sustenance, and cowdung was also useful. Only a short time ago a large gathering of Hindus took place at Hardwar, and people were invited to sign a paper protesting against kine-killing and to send their signatures to Pandit Raghunath. The lecturer advised all Hindu societies to interest themselves in this matter, and to endeavour to collect more signatures in order that the practice might be prohibited. Bhai Amar Singh and Pandit Telu Ram remained in Umballa city until the 8th July, going about the bazars in procession, singing, &c. On the 9th and 10th they proceeded to cantonments and delivered lectures, returning to the city on the 11th and on the 12th to Lahore. Bhai Amar Singh was formerly a student in the Lahore Government School and said he was going to the North-Western Provinces. Pandit Telu Ram gave out that he was a teacher in the High School at Gurdaspur and was on leave.

170. At a meeting of the Society held in the house of Rai Narain Das, Extra Assistant Commissioner, president of the

Arya Samaj at Sialkot, on the 17th July, the subject of kine-killing was discussed. Rai Mulraj, M.A., Extra Assistant Commissioner, moved that endeavours should be made to put a stop to the practice. A meeting of the Arya Samaj was held at Amritsar on the 24th July, when it was announced that active measures were being taken at Agra for the protection of the cow.

171. The *Akhbar-i-Am*, Lahore, in its issue of the 28th July, reproduced the following news sent to Muhammad Ihsanullah's newspaper (*Dar-ul-Saltanat*) published in Calcutta by a Delhi correspondent: The Hindus of Delhi are holding meetings daily and raising subscriptions for the purpose of putting a stop to cow-killing during the next Id-ul-Zuha festival (30th August). A sum of Rs. 1,75,000 has already been collected. They consider that their object will not be attained unless they create disturbances, and they are therefore in search of some desperate characters, who will be employed to stir up mischief in the city; while Gujars and Jats will be secretly located in the streets occupied by Hindus in order to afford them protection.

172. It was reported in August 1887 that the Hindus of Delhi were greatly pleased to hear that cows would not be paraded for sale at the Id-ul-Zuha festival. The Muhammadans, however, regarded the prohibition as a grievance, and meetings were held by the Punjabi merchants, who declared that if the sale of cows for *kurbani* is stopped, they would engage counsel to defend their rights. They complained of the partiality shown to the Hindus and of the abolition of an old established custom of selling cows within the city walls during the Id.

173. It was reported that numbers of Muhammadans in Ludhiana city, who at the Id in the previous year sacrificed goats only, intended to slaughter kine at the festival this year. There was also a rumour in Karnal that the Muhammadans

of Delhi had bought a large number of cows for the *kurbani* during the Id, and that the Hindus were agitating to prevent the slaughter of these animals.

174. In the same month Bawa Sunder Singh of Fatehgarh gave out at Amritsar that a meeting of the Arya Samaj would shortly be held in Calcutta for the purpose of concerting measures to protect the cow and prevent kine-killing, and that members of the sect from all parts of the country would attend. Subscriptions were being collected towards the expenses of the gathering.

175. Information was received from Umballa that a pamphlet called *Gaurakshni Sabha Dehra Dun ke niyam aur upniyam*, containing, as its title implies, the rules and principles of the Cow-protection Society at Dehra Dun, had been issued from the Vidya Darpan Press in Meerut. The object of the Society is to protect and shelter cows, to buy pasture lands for them, and to put a stop to kine-killing.

176. Early in September some baniahs of Mahim in the Rohtak district complained that during the Id festival on the 30th August certain Muhammadans of the town had killed a cow in a place surrounded by houses of Hindus, and that a piece of meat had afterwards been thrown into the courtyard of the Hindu temple. Enquiries were made by the local authorities and the matter was settled.

177. It was reported from Jullundur on the 3rd September that the Kukas look forward to the coming of Dalip Singh, when they expect the slaughter of kine to cease altogether. They say that if the English would put a stop to kine-killing they would be content and would wish for no other Government. From Gurdaspur also it was reported that the Kukas of Srigovindpur appeared to be restless and discontented, and were greatly exercised on the subject of cow-killing.

178. At a meeting of the Arya Samaj held at Tarn Taran on

the 1st September it was stated that although the people were most grateful for the many benefits enjoyed by them under British rule, yet the slaughter of kine was an act of great injustice, and that every effort should be made to stop this objectionable practice.

179. The Hindus of Jhajjar having heard of the excitement at Mahim with reference to cow-killing were preparing a petition to Government praying that the sacrifice of cows in their town might be officially prohibited. Some of the Muhammadans were reported to be supporting the memorialists.

180. The *Dost* and the *Safir-i-Hind* (Delhi), in their issues of the 8th and the 16th September respectively, published an attested copy of a *farman* issued by the Emperor Shah Alam, in which it is stated that the killing of cows or oxen is strictly prohibited according to the *Hadis*, and that the slaughter of these animals is interdicted throughout the Empire.

181. The usual meeting of the Arya Samaj was held at Amritsar on the 18th September. Extracts from the *Arya Gazette* were read, from which it appeared that Pandit Dhani Ram had gone to Hardwar and paid some money for the benefit of the Gauraksha (Cow-protection Society), and that efforts were being made at Bombay to stop kine-killing.

182. Before the Diwali fair, Sowaya Ram, Hospital Assistant attached to the Taran Taran Dispensary, who is a member of the Arya Samaj, urged on his co-religionists the necessity of purchasing as many cows as they possibly could. He stated that the members of the Lahore Samaj intended to do so, and that this advice had been given at every place where a Samaj had been established.

183. A paper on the cow question was received at Amritsar during November 1887 from the Lucknow branch of the Arya Samaj, and was read out at a meeting of that Society. All members were invited to prepare and submit memorials to

the Viceroy, praying that the practice of cow-killing might be put a stop to.

184. The Cawnpore correspondent of the *Civil and Military Gazette* mentioned in the issue of that paper dated the 18th November that Ala Ram, Sadhu, had delivered a lecture at the Bhagwat Das Ghat, in which he stated that certain European gentlemen had expressed their willingness to join the Gaurakshni Sabha, and promised not to eat beef in future.

185. On the 29th December Kharak Singh, Kuka, was overheard repeating the following couplets at Amritsar:–

London se malech char ae;
Inhan ne ghar ghar buchar khane pae.
Guran de inhan ghat harae,
Sanum hun sir dene ae.

The unclean have come from London, and have established slaughter-houses in every place. They have killed our Gurus, and we must now sacrifice ourselves.

186. In the same month it was reported that a pamphlet on the subject of cow-killing had been issued in Delhi, at the instance of Maulvis Nazir Husen and Abdul Haq, under the title of *Fatwadar taksib Farman Shah Alam Sani*. The author endeavoured to show that the *farman* of Shah Alam II regarding the prohibition of cow-killing in his dominions, which was published in the *Dost* of the 8th September 1887 and in the *Safir-i-Hind* of the 16th idem, is not genuine. He gave quotations from the Kuran relative to the lawfulness of kine-killing, and cited passages from the Hindu scriptures in support of his statement that cow-killing was authorised by them.

187. A report was received from the Montgomery district that the Muhammadans of Kabir had given offence to the Hindus by bringing beef into their houses for consumption.

1888

188. Early in January 1888 Sudh Singh, Lal Missar, and Natha Singh of Jandowal, Police Station Mukerian in the Hoshiarpur district, received parcels containing pamphlets on the subject of cow-killing which had been forwarded to them by a Sikh Pleader (name unknown) from Lucknow.

189. It was said also in the Ludhiana district that the Arya Samajes of Amritsar and Lahore were collecting subscriptions for the purpose of sending a representative to England to lay before Parliament a petition praying that cow-killing may be put a stop to.

190. In the beginning of February the *Mashir-i-Hind* newspaper, published at Ludhiana, gave an account of a large meeting of Hindus held in Benares to consider what should be done to remove the bad opinion which Government has had of the Hindus ever since the disturbances of 1886. A belief was expressed that the Muhammadans would give up cow-killing if it were not for the Government.

191. Mirza Abdullah, a Vakil of Lucknow, published a pamphlet on cow-killing, in which he recommends the Muhammadans of India to abstain from the slaughter of kine and make up their differences with the Hindus. It consists of 24 pages, and is sold at Rs. 5 a copy. A number of copies of a circular dated Lucknow, 26th March, printed in Hindi and Urdu and signed in English, were received at Dharmsala. The writer advised despatch by value-payable parcel of a pamphlet costing Rs. 10, and announced that a paper entitled *Vakil Kanun* had recently been started, and would be supplied *gratis* to persons who pay for the pamphlet, and that they would also be entitled to receive printed copies of all proceedings till such time as the slaughter of kine has been suppressed in India. It was believed that Mirza Abdullah had

been sending them out to serve his own interests. This man was formerly editor of the *Koh-i-Nur* newspaper. The pamphlet on kine killing describes the steps that should be taken by the Hindus in co-operation with the Muhammadans to get the Government to prohibit the practice, and points out that it will be to the advantage of both parties to take action in the matter conjointly. A copy of the pamphlet was obtained by the Inspector of Police at Dharmsala, who raised a subscription among his subordinates to pay the cost, and another copy by the Tahsildar of Dehra. The author of the pamphlet, Mirza Abdullah, appears to have issued this pamphlet in the hope of obtaining money by starting an agitation against kine-killing as if it emanated from the Hindus, and was altogether for their benefit. About fifty persons attended a meeting of the Arya Samaj at Amritsar on the 4th March, when Salig Ram, Vakil, announced that at Allahabad Ala Ram, Sadhu, told him that people of great influence were interested in the Arya Samaj movement, and were prepared to render every assistance towards the protecting of the cow.

192. The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore) of the 7th April 1888 called the attention of its readers to the views expressed by two Muhammadan papers on the kine slaughter question, so as to enable them to see both sides of the question. It appeared that a Muhammadan had recently applied to the Deputy Commissioner of Ferozpur for permission to open a shop for the sale of beef. The application was granted, and the Tahsildar was ordered to select a suitable locality for the shop in question. The *Al Sadiq*, a weekly paper published at Ferozpur, commenting on this incident, remarked that the opening of such a shop was calculated to injure the feelings of Hindus, and might possibly lead to results by no means desirable, and suggested that the Muhammadans should give up the practice in order to please the Hindus. The *Akhbar-i-Am* then

quotes from the *Sultan-ul-Akhbar* of Bangalore, which says that some bigoted Hindus are trying their utmost to suppress kine slaughter in India, and to induce the Government to declare the practice in question a crime punishable under the Indian Penal Code. The writer continued that the mere fact that Hindus are forbidden the use of beef is no reason why they should prevent Muhammadans from kine slaughter, and ridiculed the argument that unless kine slaughter is put a stop to there will be a dearth of cattle for agricultural purposes.

193. The Deputy Commissioner of Ferozpur had received an anonymous letter in English on the 6th April threatening him with the same fate that Jaishi Ram, Extra Assistant Commissioner, met with in Lahore if he sanctioned the slaughter of cows in the city of Ferozpur.

194. The *Aftab-i-Punjab* (Lahore) of the 11th April 1888 stated in a communicated article that Ishar Singh, Sub-Overseer, had prosecuted certain residents of Ahmadpur in the Hafizabad Tahsil who killed a cow and a bull in front of his house in broad daylight in order to hurt his religious feelings. The *Aftab* suggested that the offenders should be severely punished, as such offences sometimes lead to very serious results.

195. A correspondent writing to the *Koh-i-Nur* (Lahore), dated 24th April 1888, remarked that the provisions of Punjab Government Circular No.12/4881, dated 19th December 1888, are not observed at Gujranwala; that contrary to the provisions of the Circular in question the slaughter-house at Gujranwala is situated within 300 yards from the limits of the town on a public road; and that beef is exposed for sale, and the animals brought for slaughter and tied on the Kacheri road. Several petitions, signed by Hindus and some influential Muhammadans, had, it was stated, been submitted to the District authorities and the Municipality for the removal of

the slaughter-house to a more suitable place, but unfortunately no action had been taken in spite of the fact that several members of the Municipality expressed an opinion regarding the desirability of removing the slaughter-house from its present site. The writer then went on to say that hitherto the relations of Hindus and Muhammadans have been most friendly in Gujranwala, and that in order to promote good feeling between the parties it was essentially necessary that this grievance should be redressed without further delay.

196. It was soon after mentioned by Basawa Singh, Granthi of the dharmsala in Tilok Nath, in Kangra District, that the Kukas and many orthodox Sikhs were anxious that the butchers' shops in the city and district of Gujranwala should somehow be removed.

197. The *Punjab Punch* (Lahore), dated 3rd May 1888, remarked that the Hindus are certainly justified in protesting against the slaughter of kine, inasmuch as their religion forbids the practice in question; but the Hindu papers which write on this question lose sight of the important fact that the Muhammadan community alone is not responsible for the practice: on the contrary, it is chiefly for the sake of Europeans that the slaughter of kine is allowed. The Muhammadan community consider it a matter of indifference whether shops for the sale of beef exist or not. On the contrary all intelligent Muhammadans, as well as right-thinking persons, would be only too glad to see shops for the sale of beef closed by order of Government, in as much as these shops very often lead to serious quarrels among the two communities.The writer urged that the Hindus should ask Government, and not the Muhammadans, to suppress the practice.

198. A rumour was reported from the Gurdaspur district on the 26th May that the Kukas were all determined to put a stop to cow-killing by fair or foul means, so that when Dalip Singh

arrives he will be pleased to see what has been done.

199. It was given out also at Delhi that the Parsis had forwarded a petition to the Government of Bombay on the subject of cow-killing.

200. The *Aftab-i-Punjab* (Lahore), in its issue of the 30th May 1888, published a letter addressed to Christians, in which the writer quotes several passages from Scripture with a view to showing that it is not the duty of Christians to eat beef, and calls upon them to give up the practice for the sake of the Hindus, whose feelings are greatly wounded thereby.

201. On the day of the Id the Police at Hoshiarpur received information that cow's flesh was being openly sold in the town. On enquiry it was ascertained that a butcher had been selling beef there. but that he was reported to a Sheikh named Khwaja, who immediately stopped his proceedings and censured him.

202. On the 24th June Dilbagh Rai, of the Arya Samaj, delivered an address in Lahore city, in the course of which he declared that all Hindus who ate meat were butchers and worse than Muhammadans. This statement caused a good deal of indignation.

203. Sodhi Khazan Singh of Lanran, district Ferozpur, was reported to have said in the beginning of July 1888 that the Nizam of Hyderabad and a *Rais* of that State had sent a petition to the Viceroy asking that kine-killing might be prohibited in order that Muhammadans and Hindus should live in unity.

204. In the same month a mass meeting of Hindus and Muhammadans was held in Ferozpur city under the presidency of a Hindu Pleader for the purpose of submitting a memorial to the Lieutenant-Governor praying that the slaughter-houses recently established in the city suburbs might be closed. The Muhammadans joined this movement because they feared that the opening of a beef shop would be likely to disturb the peace and harmony which had hitherto existed between the Hindus

and themselves. They were reported to have said that those who wanted beef could easily obtain it from Cantonments.

205. About the same time a calf which was stolen from a Muhammadan at Khanna, district Ludhiana, was found to have been slaughtered. This circumstance gave rise to considerable excitement and some ill-feeling. The Hindus attempted to make the complainant telegraph to the Deputy Commissioner, Commissioner and Government, but he refused. They then collected subscriptions and intended watching the case which was to be sent for trial as one of theft, and at its conclusion to have the Muhammadan vegetable sellers boycotted. The leading spirit was Hira Lal, Muharrir, Municipal Committee, who was supported by Bawà Bhim Sain, Parbu, baniah, and Parsa, Brahmin, members of the Municipal Committee; Bansi, Brahmin; and Kalu, Kalal. These men, discussed the possibility of getting the slaughter-house closed. It was considered that if the excitement continued there would be some fear of a disturbance. In August 1888 a further report was received that the ill-feeling between Hindus and Muhammadans in the matter of cow-killing at Khanna was spreading to the villages and formed the principal topic of conversation.

206. In its issue of the 21st July 1888 the *Imperial Paper* (Lahore) published an account of a meeting held at Ferozpur for concerting measures to close a shop opened there a short time previously for the sale of beef. Commenting on the proceedings of the meeting in question, the *Imperial Paper* remarked that the Muhamadans of Ferozpur evidently did not understand the real object of the agitation against the slaughter of kine. The question was no longer a religious one. The chief object of the promoters of the movement was to inflict another blow on the English and the Muhammadans, both of whom are in the habit of taking beef, by uniting the Hindus against them. The writer warned the Muhammadans against

supporting the agitation, which had been set on foot, not because the practice was objectionable from a religious point of view, but because the Hindus desired to bring about a political union among themselves against both the Muhammadans and the English. The *Al Sadiq* (Ferozpur), dated 27th July 1888, reproduced the above with a remark that the object of the meeting was not to discuss the general question of kine slaughter, but to take measures for closing a beef shop.

207. During the month of August 1888 Maulvi Hashim Shah of Ferozpur city endeavoured to get up an agitation among the Muhammadans in favour of cow-killing and went from house to house to obtain the signatures of his co-religionists to a document which was probably intended for submission to the Government.

208. In the middle of the same month there was some friction between the Hindus and Muhammadans in Ferozpur city with reference to the slaughter of kine. The matter formed the subject of the following comments in the vernacular newspapers: The *Koh-i-Nur* (Lahore) published an article in praise of the Muhammadans of Ferozpur for their action in joining a meeting held to adopt a memorial asking the Punjab Government to cancel the order of the Deputy Commissioner regarding the opening of two beef shops in the city. The writer attributes this praiseworthy act of the Muhammadans of Ferozpur to the amiable character of Khan Bahadur Muhammad Hyat Khan. The *Aftab-i-Alamtab* (Lahore) stated that a Sadhu delivered a lecture on the 'Duties of the Hindus' at Ferozpur, and in the course of his remarks dwelt at considerable length on the importance of preserving kine. He said that 60 years ago ghee was sold at 10 seers a rupee, and in five or seven years hence it would not be procurable, and that the Muhammadans should, since they are large consumers of ghee, join the Hindus in asking Government to sanction the preserva-

tion of kine. The *Rafiq-i-Hind* remarked that the Hindus of Ferozpur induced some Muhammadans to join a meeting held to memorialise His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor to suppress kine slaughter and to close a beef shop opened in that city. The writer, however, hoped that Government would take no notice of the memorial. If the beef shop were closed because some Muhammadans signed a memorial against it, the Hindus in other cities would certainly spare no efforts to secure the signatures of some of the Muhammadans to similar memorials and thus succeed in depriving the latter of their religious freedom. The *Aftab-i-Punjab* (Lahore), commenting on the above, enumerated the advantages which would accrue from the preservation of kine, and remarked that, with the exception of some very poor people, the Muhammadans did not care to eat beef, nor did they consider it their duty to do so. The writer was of opinion that it would be infinitely preferable for the Muhammadans to lay the Hindus under an obligation, in as much as in that case the ill-feeling existing between the two communities would entirely disappear, and concluded by advising the parties to co-operate in suppressing a practice which is at the bottom of almost all the quarrels that arise between the Hindus and the Muhammadans. The *Khair Khwah-i-Kashmir* (Lahore) remarked that the Muhammadans and Hindus of Ferozpur did, by submitting a joint memorial against kine slaughter, set a very good example which other cities would do well to imitate.

209. During the latter half of the year 1888 there was a lull in the agitation regarding the cow question and scarcely any reports on the subject were received from the various districts in the Province. The matter was, however, frequently noticed in the Press in various articles and communications.

210. The most important of these communications was a letter published in the *Civil and Military Gazette* (Lahore) of the

25th July 1888 written by Muharram Ali, Chishti. Editor of the *Rafiq-i-Hind*, under the heading "The kine slaughter question, a timely warning." The following is a reproduction *in extenso* of the letter:–

Sir, as the kine slaughter question bids fair to become a burning political question ere long, as meetings are being held all over the country by my Hindu countrymen for suppressing the practice, and as the Bakr Id in past years has been the occasion of many a serious riot at Etawah, Hoshiarpur, Umballa, Ludhiana and several other places on account of the kine slaughter and as the time is again approaching, I beg leave to invite the attention of the authorities through the medium of your valuable paper on this important question. It is only natural that those who take an interest in the welfare of India should devote a large share of their attention to this very important subject, because the serious riots which occurred sometime ago in which the authority of the law was defied are attributed to no other cause than the slaughter of kine; and as on the decision of this question rests the maintenance not only of peace and order, but also of the governing authority, it is the bounden duty of the Government to settle this question once for all.

The slaughter of kine in India is a religious question. The Hindus consider that the practice is opposed to their religion, but the Muhammadans regard it as lawful. Indeed the latter consider it a religious custom to sacrifice cows particularly on the Bakr Id, which literally signifies the feast of cows. The difference on this question is one of long standing, and the Muhammadan and Hindu rulers of the country have treated it differently. The former allowed the practice without any restrictions and the latter put it down with a strong hand. The weaker party has always obeyed the stronger and consequently no riots ever occurred on account of this question.

The case of the Native States fully illustrates the policy pursued by the ancient rulers in India. Afterwards Providence transferred the reins of Government to a people who were neutral in regard to religious and race prejudices towards the people of India, and who being the inhabitants of a far distant country stood impartially between the various races inhabiting this vast Peninsula. On the advent of this Government a policy of neutrality in religious matters was inaugurated. This policy was no doubt a just policy inasmuch it allowed full liberty of conscience to all classes of the people. The Muhammadans were accordingly allowed to slaughter kine. This policy was no doubt a very good policy, because if Muhammadans were prevented from kine slaughter merely because the practice was prohibited by Hinduism, the Hindu idols and temples would have to be razed to the ground and many other religious matters not allowed by Islam would have to be interfered with, and Government would have thus been put to great inconvenience. Nothing can be fairer than this, that a man should not be compelled to do what is unlawful according to his religion, and that no man should be prevented from doing what is lawful according to his religion, as it is improper to compel people to conform to the principles of other religions.

Kine slaughter has been practised by Muhammadans for the last 1,300 years and under the English since 300 years, but no ill-feeling has ever been evinced by the parties. Since the last few years, however, it has been made the cause of almost every riot that has occurred in the country, and it will be found that the dissatisfaction of the Hindus owing to the prevalence of this practice is at the bottom of all riots. The question therefore arises: Have the Hindus changed their religion? Have they obtained a new ordinance about kine slaughter? Have the Muhammadans invented a new system

for kine slaughter? Is Bakr Id a new festival? Has Government made any new concessions to the Muhammadans rgarding this practice? I hope that every reasonable man will reply to these questions in the negative. Then what circumstances tend to provoke this new excitement in the Hindus? Let anybody think over the question as carefully as he may, he will find that the cause of all this is to be found in the fact that the Hindus have become more powerful and that this consciousness of strength has led them to act in a different manner. They at first contented themselves with expressing their feelings in harmless ways, such as the raising of subscriptions for purchasing cows, establishing societies for the preservation of kine, and delivering speeches and memorialising Government on the subject. These tactics having failed to produce the desired effect, they took to picking up quarrels with the Muhammadans in the hope that the frequent occurrence of such riots would compel Government to be alarmed on the subject. This view is fully borne out by the riots which have occurred in various places in the Punjab and other provinces.

It now remained to be seen whether Government would be able to deal with the matter with a strong hand or whether it would take a new departure owing to the agitation of the Hindus. All who are aware of the power of the British Government felt sure that these riots would be treated with indifference and the rioters with exemplary punishment, but the various new restrictions under which Muhammadans were allowed to perform slaughter of kine on the Bakr Id last year at Delhi, Ludhiana, Hoshiarpur and other places have disappointed the Muhammadan community entirely owing to the weakness with which the authorities gave way to Hindu agitators.

Some people are of opinion that the Hindus can justly be

proud of the success which has attended their agitation. But we must frankly say that the Government, however, cannot be congratulated on its administrative ability inasmuch as all the concessions made in favour of the Hindus were made only in those places where riots had occurred owing to kine slaughter; and it is a matter for surprise that similar concessions were not made in the case of those places where no riots had occurred. No one can for a moment think that the Hindus of the last named places are less religious or less opposed to practice. On the contrary the general public has come to the conclusion that the Hindus have gained their point wherever they brought pressure on the authorities by means of raising disturbances. Have these concessions taught a good lesson to the Hindus of other places? Can such an action of the authorities produce any good effect on any class of people?

As a loyal subject of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen Empress, I consider it desirable to point out that this weak policy is calculated to lead to dangerous consequences because to teach people to resort to such agitation instead of praying humbly for favours is dangerous to the stability of Government. This act will not only encourage such agitation among those given to such practices, but also to other classes who have hitherto refrained from resorting to such tactics. Government should understand that the Hindu agitation, though apparently directed against Muhammadans, is in reality an agitation against itself which takes beef and which legalises the practice in India, and Government will have to suffer the consequences of the war now being carried on against the Muhammadans, because the present riots are a Camp of Exercise in which Hindus are learning to destroy the kine-killing races.

The barbarous policy adopted in the Kashmir State, where kine slaughter is an offence punishable with imprisonment

for the whole term of life, is preferable to the vacillating policy pursued now-a-days by some of our authorities, because at any rate it preserves peace and order.

In British India the Muhammadans think on the one hand that according to British constitution they have full liberty in their religious matters, while on the other hand the Hindus are coming to believe that Government can be compelled to frame new laws if pressure is brought to bear on them. Under these circumstances it seems neccessary that the Government, instead of its present vacillating policy, should adopt a definite one, so that each party should understand its position and the danger of riots be avoided.

The restrictions placed on kine slaughter on the occasion of the last Bakr Id have led the Muhammadans to believe that the object of such restrictions is to prevent them indirectly from performing a ceremony allowed by their religion. That the Muhammadans did entertain such notions is evident from the fact that on the last Bakr Id the Muhammadans of Hoshiarpur were so far alarmed that they refrained not only from kine-killing, but also could not sacrifice goats in sufficient numbers, and were thus prevented from performing one of their religious duties. Nor was this all. The butchers also did not kill the usual number of cows on the day of Bakr Id. It is to be hoped that Government will not allow such notions being entertained by any class of its subjects, and especially the Muhammdans, who, though they have lost everthing, love their religion more than they love their lives, and who are ready at any time to sacrifice their lives in defending the British Crown, more especially for the reason that they are allowed full liberty of conscience under the benign English rule. Indeed, it is on account of this liberty that they do not regard India as *Darulharb* and are religiously bound to be faithful and loyal to the British Crown.

It is really anomalous that different rules should be in force in every disrtict and tahsil for kine slaughter in British territory. Nor was this all. These orders were amended several times on the last occasion in several districts, and in this way legislative powers were transferred to local officers in so important a matter.

The kine agitation is only a thin end of the wedge. If Government makes any concession in its behalf it will have to make no end of concessions. For instance, the Sikhs might object to the sale of tobacco, while there are several other castes in India who can as reasonably object to consumption of onions, fish and eggs, while according to the Jainis it is unlawful to breathe air freely for fear of destroying insects in the air. I must warn the Government in plain words that *the object of the Hindu agitation on this question is to unite various Hindu castes for a common cause against those who slughter kine.*

I think my letter has already become too long and I will conclude by saying that Government should make its policy known on this important matter. Let the Government adopt a strong instead of the present vacillating policy. In 1862 the late Maharaja of Patiala as a member of the Legislative Council asked leave to introduce a Bill for suppressing the sale of beef in India, but the proposal was considered quite absurd and rejected by the Council. But it would not be a matter of surprise if what was then considered absurd might now, owing to the altered condition of the present age, be regarded as reasonable.

In any case Government should either pass an Act prohibiting the slaughter of kine by Muhammadans and Christians, or show in an unmistakeable manner that no change can take place in its old policy of neutrality, and that it will not interfere in the religious liberties of any class of the peole. In

either case the transgressors should be threatend with condign punishment so as to preclude the possibility of riots in future, and save the local officer the necessity of framing new rules on every occasion and of changing them again and again.

211. This letter caused a burst of indignation amongst those papers which represented the Hindu interests in the Punjab. The *Ravi Akhbar* (Lahore), in its issue of the 1st August 1888, remarked that Muharram Ali should remember that Government was wise enough not to interfere in the religious affairs of the Hindus and thus wound their feelings. But if it did the Muhammadans would find their feelings wounded by the sale of pork; for if "beef-eating" were considered a political question, it followed that "pork-eating" must be regarded in the same light, being a question on which all Muhammadans were ready to sacrifice their lives. The *Danish-i-Hind* (Mooltan) thought that Muharram Ali published such articles in order to create enmity between the Hindus and Muhammadans. A correspondent writing to the *Ravi Akhbar* (Lahore) of the 8th August 1888 said that the Editor of the *Dushman-i-Hind* (*Rafiq-i-Hind*) was making himself notorious by writing on the kine-killing question with a view to insulting the religious feelings of the Hindus. The *Ganjina-i-Akhbarat* (Lahore), commenting on Muharram Ali Chishti's letter on the slaughter of kine, also remarked that Muharram Ali and the Editor of the *Civil and military Gazette* published such articles with a view to setting Hindus and Muhammadans against each other. The *Nanak Parkash* (Lahore), in its issue of 15th August 1888, remarked that the Editor of the *Rafiq-i-Hind* first wrote a letter advocating the annexation of Kashmir, but, having failed to produce any effect, next addressed a letter to the *Civil and Military Gazette*, urging that Government should openly allow kine to be slaughtered. The object of such writing was to

set Hindus and Muhammadans against each other. If a Hindu were to suggest that pigs should be publicly killed the Muhammadans would take it very ill.

212. On the 4th August 1888 the *Rafiq-i-Hind* (Lahore) quoted an article from the *Dabdaba-i-Sikandari*, of Rampur, in which the writer remarked that the agitation set on foot by the Hindus against kine slaughter was not likely to succeed. In the time of the Emperor Akbar the practice was suppressed, but owing to the complaints made by the Muhammadans it had to be renewed after a short time. Unless Government was converted to Hinduism and all the Muhammadans were expelled from the country, there was no likelihood of the practice being suppressed.

213. The *Victoria Paper* (Sialkot) of the same date stated that the *Rafiq-i-Hind* invited the attention of the Government of India to the approaching Id festival, and requested that the Government should either order that a Hindu interfering with a Muhammadan's cow sacrifice would be liable to severe punishment, or that no Muhammadan should kill a cow and that every attempt to evade the order would render the offender liable to be punished with rigorous imprisonment. The writer remarked that the Government was wise enough not to interfere in the matter. It did not intend to do harm either to the Hindus or to the Muhammadans by issuing an absurd order certain to set them by the ears, that it was quite neutral in religious matters and treated both communities alike.

214. In the *Rafiq-i-Hind* (Lahore), of the 18th August 1888, there appeared a communication entitled "The kine slaughter question from a political point of view." The writer pointed out at great length that the British Government was stronger than any former Government of India, but at the same time warned it against heeding the agitation against kine slaughter, and that any concession made in deference to the wishes

of the agitators would tell on the prestige of Government and would be construed into a sign of weakenss. The Muhammadans would also be led to think that their religious liberty was being unduly interfered with. The Muhammadans were no doubt weak, but Government was a strong one and should stand impartially between the parties. The agitation against kine slaughter is the thin end of the wedge and should be nipped in the bud. If Government made a single concession, it would not be easy to see where it would stop.

215. The *Khair Khwah-i-kashmir* (Lahore), dated 19th August 1888, remarked that the more respectable members of the Muhammadan community kept themselves aloof from everything calculated to create disunion and ill-feeling. The conduct of the Muhammadan community of Ferozpur, who, knowing that kine slaughter was calculated to wound the religious feelings of the Hindus, convened a meeting for suppressing the sale of beef in the city, was an instance in point. The *Imperial paper* (Lahore) said the writer expressed great regret at the conduct of the Muhammadans of Ferozpur, who did not understand the real object of the Hindu agaitation in connection with the kine-preservation question, because this question was not a religious question, but a political one, by means of which it was intended to unite all Hindus of India against the English and the Muhammadans.

216. The *Khair Khwah-i-Kashmir* admitted that this question certainly had the power of bringing all Hindus under one banner without any distinction of caste. But was this not because it was a religious question? If the Shiah proprietor of the *Imperial Paper* could, in connection with the kine slaughter question, agree with the Sunni editor of the *Rafiq-i-Hind*, what harm could there possibly be if in connection with the kine preservation question all Hindus united together? Were the Muhammadans massacred during the Mahratta and the

Sikh rule that the union among the Hindus should be much dreaded by them? If the *Imperial Paper* were impartial it would remember that it was during those times that barbers became *Shekhs* and *Syads*. The kine question, the writer continued, had certainly assumed a political aspect, and it was possible that if the Russians on attacking India were to declare that they intended to suppress kine slaughter in India, the deception would result in the Hindus going over to the side of Russia. The Government officials, therefore, should not view the question in a cursory way, but should look to the serious consequences to which it might lead, and suppress the practice of killing kine.

217. The same issue of this paper contained some observations on a statement made in the *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore) that the Lahore Municipality intended to open a market in the Museum building in which beef and pork would be exposed for sale in addition to other articles, for the convenience of Europeans. The writer objected to the proposal, as the building was situated on public road much frequented by Hindus and Muhammadans. It was the duty of the Municipal Commissioners, therefore, to strongly oppose a proposal which would be likely to lead to disturbances and disputes, and it should flatly refuse to sanction such a measure or indeed any measures brought forward by Europeans without first carefully considering them.

218. In its issue of the 22nd August 1888, the *Akhbar-ul-Akhyar* (Delhi) said that according to a Parsi gentleman, who strongly advocated the suppression of kine slaughter, no fewer than 4,050,000 kine had been slaughtered during the past 30 years for the British troops and that those Hindus who take the Muhammadans to task for kine slaughter should ponder over the above facts.

219. A correspondent writing to the *Khair Khwah-i-Kashmir*

(Lahore) of the same date said that the relations between the Hindus and Muhammadans of Darbhanga were very much strained owing to the kine slaughter question. The Maharaja of Darbhanga ordered that every cow sold should be bought back and sent to the pastures reserved for such cows. The Muhammadans intended killing a larger number of cows on the Bakr Id festival. The Hindus, would try to prevent them and would resort to arms if milder measures proved ineffectual. The Muhammadans were also prepared to sacrifice their lives and had been promised assistance by their co-religionists living at distant places. Commenting on the above the *Khair Khwah-i-Kashmir* said that it was the duty of Hindus and Muhammadans alike to preserve kine which are so very useful to both.

220. The *Al Sadiq* (Ferozpur), of the 24th August 1888, said that Islam did not require its followers to kill any animals in public when such an act was likely to create a disturbance, and in support of this view quoted a passage from a Sunni journal called the *Alwaiz*, which says that it is not a duty of the Muhammadans to kill cows, but should on the contrary promote friendly relations with the Hindus and refrain from doing anything calculated to offend them.

221. On the 25th August 1888 the *Rafiq-i-Hind* (Lahore) published a communication by an able and distinguished Muhammadan executive officer on kine slaughter, and said that the Muhammadans heartily wished that Government would decide the question once for all. The writer of the article said that it was an open secret that the real cause of disputes and disturbances between Hindus and Muhammadans was kine slaughter as had been shown by nearly all the newspapers. He himself was of opinion that the coming of Muharram and Dasehra together could not be regarded as the cause of these disturbances. It was a matter of every day occurrence that in

the same city, on the same day while one man was bewailing the death of a member of his family, his neighbour was celebrating the marriage of his relation, but no quarrels took place on this account. The Dasehra and Muharram festivals merely afforded an opportunity to the parties for revenging themselves. The writer divided his article into three heads,– Religious, Social and Political. From a religious point of view, he said a Muhammadan regarded a pig as unclean as a Hindu considered a cow sacred. The former hated a pig and was loath to touch any part of its body, while a Hindu made a free use of cow's milk, butter, skin, urine and cow-dung, and regarded its urine and cow-dung as clean and lawful. The *Kuran* prohibits Muhammadans from eating pork, while the Hindus of the time of Manu ate beef like the English, and cows and oxen were sacrificed, and he-buffaloes were still sacrificed in India. Why then should the Hindus be hostile towards the Muhammadans because they slaughter kine? In Burma pork, beef and mutton are exposed for sale side by side and no objection is ever raised. Similarly all Hindus carry on their business in Afghanistan, Baluchistan, Persia and Central Asia. Why did no disturbances connected with kine slaughter ever take place in those countries? The writer asked those who said that this was because the rulers of those countries were Muhammadans, why did not the Hindus leave off all connection with those rulers? "The rulers of India," he continued, "consume more beef than those Muhammadan rulers; why then do not the Hindus attack the Commissariat Department, where thousands of cows are killed every day, and fight the European soldiers who eat beef regularly ? If the religion of Hindus requires that Muhammadans should be prevented from kine slaughter, it must prevent the Christians from indulging in that practice. But if the Hindus think that the Muhammadans are helpless because they do not possess Henry-

Martini rifles they are sadly mistaken. Their religion does not teach them to oppress the poor and the weak beef consumers, and let the strong party do whatever they like." With regard to the second point, the writer expressed an opinion that the social relations of the Hindus and Muhammadans had undergone considerable change and that the Muhammadans had adopted many customs from the Hindus which were opposed to the religion of the former. Further on the writer advised the Muhammadan community that they should regard the Hindus as their rulers and superiors on whom they were dependent for their livelihood and to whom they were indebted. He also advised the Hindus not to avenge themselves on the Muhammadans for the high-handedness to which they were subjected by the Muhammadan Kings. "A lion does not prey upon another lion because they both belong to the same genus, and the same is the case with the Hindus and Muhammadans. The Muhammadans sacrifice kine in their houses, but the Hindus burst open their doors and enter to pick up quarrels. This they should not do. The Hindus eat pork and *jhatka*, but the Muhammadans never protest against their doing so. From a political point of view," the writer says, "Government cannot suppress kine slaughter by the Muhammadans because after the lapse of a few years the Hindus will take advantage of this concession and call upon it to suppress the practice in the Commissariat Department, where cows are killed for the use of European soldiers; and on getting a flat refusal will create a political union and rise to suppress the practice. If, on account of the pressure brought to bear upon it by the Hindus, Government commits any mistake, the whole of India will become a battle-field. The District Officers should also remember well that if they give way to such pressure the result of their cowardice will surely be very serious."

222. Ill-feeling was reported to be existing between the Hindus and Muhammadans of Rajanpur, district Dera Ghazi Khan, during the latter part of August 1888 owing to the latter having paraded through the city a cow decked with a garland of flowers and afterwards sacrificed it as an offering for rain. This ill-feeling resulted on the 1st September in a quarrel between the Hindus and Muhammadans regarding the sale of beef and which was however satisfactorily settled.

223. In its issue of the 1st September 1888 the *Rafiq-i-Hind* (Lahore) reproduced an article from the *Akhbar-i-Alam* of Cawnpore to the effect that considerable excitement was caused at Cawnpore owing to the Police officials having got four Muhammadans to sign a declaration to the effect that they would abstain from slaughtering cows at their houses. The Muhammdans regarded this action on the part of the Police as the thin end of the wedge, and thought that they would gradually be deprived of their religious freedom. The *Akhbar* was, however, of opinion that these tactics, instead of suppressing kine slaughter, would lead to a larger number of cows being slaughtered and would tend to increase ill-feeling between the parties, and referred to places where this had actually happened.

224. A correspondent writing to the *Dharm Jiwan* (Lahore), dated 16th September 1888, stated that the sacrifice of animals by the Muhammadans on the Bakr Id was not enjoined by the *Kuran*. The writer challenged any Muhammadan to disprove his assertion.

225. The *Aftab-i-Alamtab* (Lahore), of the 25th September 1888, said that Pandit Sriman Swami had been delivering important lectures on the preservation of kine. This question had long been under discussion, but no success had attended the efforts of those who had been urging the preservation of the sacred animal owing to the opposition of the Muham-

madans and want of attention on the part of the Government. The writer begged the Muhammadans and the Government to ponder over the great injury that was being done to the country by kine slaughter. The mere fact that milk and everything made therefrom were becoming dearer and dearer every day was enough to show that the number of kine had greatly decreased. Ghee had become so dear that the poorer classes of the people could no longer afford to use it.

226. The same paper in its issue of the 9th October 1888 said that the *Civil and Military Gazette* was greatly mistaken in attributing the outbreak of riots on the occasion of the Muharram to the agitation against kine-killing, inasmuch as the agitation in question had only been set on foot since the last two years, while riots had always occurred during that particular festival.

227. The *Nanak Parkash* (Kapurthala), of the 18th October 1888, after dwelling on the importance of preserving kine and the veneration in which they were held by the Aryas, remarked that the Muhammadans who considered that India was not an agricultural country allowed the practice in order to offend the Aryas. The English, whose country produces nothing except fish and lizards, also continued the practice because they were ignorant of the great advantages which the people derived from the animal.

228. The same paper published another article on the same subject in its issue of the 31st October with a view to showing that the cow was an animal which, in addition to being an object of worship, was very useful; cow-dung, milk, butter, cheese, hides, & c., being all of great use to man. It was therefore the height of folly to kill the animal even when old.

229. Mehr Singh, Jat, of Jalalabad, district Amritsar, stated at Ludhiana, during the week ending 20th October 1888, that at a meeting of the Amritsar Singh Sabha it was proposed to

memorialise Government to put a stop to cow-killing, and that if the petition were granted, three lakhs of rupees should be given to Government. Several Muhammadans were said to have approved of this proposal.

230. On the 13th November 1888 the *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), referring to the result of the trial of those who had taken part in the kine-killing riots at Dhumri, stated that seven Hindus were sentenced to six weeks' rigorous imprisonment each, and two to one week's imprisonment, and a fine of Rs. 60 and Rs. 100 respectively; the remaining accused, a Municipal Commissioner, being acquitted. Babu Lal Mohan Ghose, the well-known Barrister of Calcutta, appeared for the Hindus and M. Syad Shams-ul-Kadir for the Muhammadans. The Court awarded compensation to the two Muhammadans who were wounded during the riots.

231. On the 1st December 1888 a Hindu of Haveli petitioned the District Magistrate, Montgomery, regarding the slaughter of a cow in that village by certain Muhammadans.

232. During December 1888 several value-payable pamphlets were received in the Jhang Post Office from Lucknow directed to various Hindu officials and notables in the district, but had, it was believed, been all refused by the addressees. Each packet bore the following printed note: "From the Chief Manager, Kharati Gaushalas or charitable sheds for old and unserviceable oxen, and Superintendent, Vakil Qaumi, or the National Advocate for law against kine slaughter throughout India, Lucknow." More than 100 similar pamphlets were said to have also arrived in Dera Ghazi Khan Post Office and to have all been refused. These pamphlets were likewise sent to Kharar, Jagadhri, Sadhaura and Shahabad Post Offices in the Umballa district, and were treated in the same manner as at Jhang and Dera Ghazi Khan.

1889

233. During the month of January 1889 reports were received from Delhi and Hoshiarpur stating that value-payable parcels similar to the ones reported to have been sent to several districts in December 1888 had been addressed to individuals in those districts from Lucknow. They were all returned unopened.

234. In its issue of the 23rd January the *Aftab-i-Punjab* published a letter from a correspondent commenting on the remarks made against the Sikh gurus at the last anniversary of the Arya Samaj, and, stating that in British India none but the Sikhs had ever been bold enough to sacrifice their lives for the preservation of kine. It was the Sikhs who in 1872 killed several beef butchers at Amritsar and then confessed their guilt so as to prevent the authorities from arresting innocent people in consequence of which 63 Kukas were blown from guns and several were hanged. The writer ended his letter with the suggestion that the rascal (meaning Guru Dat, Professor, Lahore Government College) who spoke disrespectfully of the Sikh gurus should be put to death or rather tortured.

235. About this time a dispute took place at Jalalpur between Muhammadans and Hindus regarding the slaughter of cows and the throwing of pigs' bristles into wells. The matter was settled by the Deputy Commissioner, Gujrat.

236. Early in February it was reported from Thanesar that, owing to the opening of a slaughter-house at Pipli, a good deal of ill-feeling had arisen between the Hindus and Muhammadans. The tahsildar of Pipli received anonymous communication warning him of a possible outbreak.

237. During the same month the Editor of the *Amritsar Gazette* (Amritsar) circulated with his paper a small tract in

Hindi-Urdu, written by Pandit Mathra Pershad Misar, urging the importance of the preservation of kine.

238. About this time two value-payable parcels containing copies of the anti- kine-killing pamphlets, issued by the Manager, Khairati Gaushalas, Lucknow, were received in the Rupar Post Office, one being addressed to the tahsildar of Rupar, and the other to Sardar Utam Singh, Honorary Magistrate of Garauli. The former was believed to have refused his parcel, but the latter collected a sum of Rs.14-14-0 and retained his.

239. At a marriage which took place at Dhaka in March of this year in the house of Muhammad Bakhsh, a cultivator, no less than 15 cows and bullocks were sacrificed, half the number being contributed by friends of the bridegroom. With reference to this report the District Suprintendent of Police at Muzaffargarh gave the following explanation:–

" It appears to be a common practice in the Muzaffargarh district to slaughter cattle on the occasion of marriage festivals, and the opportunity is taken of killing stolen cattle contributed by friends."

240. In the latter part of the month it was reported from Gurdaspur that some ill-feeling had arisen between the Hindus and Muhammadans of Kotli Surat Mal, Police Station Dera Nanak, through the action of a chaukidar in obtaining beef from Kalanaur and selling it to Mussalmans of the village, and also on account of his disposing of worn-out cows to the butchers of Kalanaur.

241. About this time a man named Ishar Das, Clerk in Mancharji's firm, commenced lecturing in the streets of Mooltan city against kine-killing. He called upon all Hindus to collect subscriptions and establish places for the reception of old and worn-out cattle. This man gave offence to some Muhammadans by his addresses, and the Deputy

Commissoner ordered the Police to arrange that he should not be allowed to speak to crowds collected by him in the streets.

242. Early in April 1889 a practice was reported to be springing up at Bannu of slaughtering kine and selling beef on the Kohat and Haweid roads, notably on the occasion of the Friday fairs, notwithstanding that a place had been set apart for the purpose. The Deputy Commissioner of Bannu gave orders that the practice should be stopped at once.

243. On the 16th April 1889 some Brahmins of Thanesar went to Umballa to petition the authorities regarding the slaughter of kine at Pipli and the sale of beef by butchers at Thanesar. One of them was believed to have gone on to Lahore to make a representation to the Punjab Government on the subject. On this petition the Deputy Commissioner of Umballa passed the following orders :-

(I)- That the Government letter sanctions the establishment of a slaughter-house at Pipli, and allows the Muhammadans of Thanesar to provide themselves with beef;

(II)- That apparently the orders only contemplate their purchasing beef at Pipli when it is required for their own consumption;

(III)- That they may convey such beef into Thanesar, but must do so in a decent and orderly manner, and in such a way as not to offend their Hindu neighbours; and

(IV)- That no shops for the sale of beef should be set up in the town of Thanesar, nor should beef be exposed for sale in any way.

The Thanesar Brahmins agreed to abide by these instructions, and the Police were directed to see them carried out.

244. In May 1889 a rumour was current at Thanesar that the Hindus were getting up a subscription with the object of taking proceedings against the butchers for kine-killing.

245. On the 8th June 1889 a report was received from Mahim in the Rohtak district that one Allah-ud-din recently slaughtered a cow on the anniversary of the death of one of his relations, and that the Hindus were displeased, but did not intend to complain. The place where the sacrifice was made was not mentioned. Concerning this individual the District Superintendent of Police, Rohtak, reported as follws: "This Allah-ud-din is the brother of Muhammad Husen, Extra Assistant Commissioner. He is the leader of the Muhammadans in Mahim, a man of some influence and a pestilent fanatic, and was the ring-leader in the case of cow-killing which caused a disturbance in that town two years ago."

246. In the latter part of the month two mahajans of Jakhar reported at the Kamalia Police Station on the 23rd of June that certain Muhammadans had brought a bullock into the village and after slaughtering it in the mosque had distributed the meat with rice among their co-religionists. The complainants added that their religious feelings had been offended by these proceedings.

247. Early in July 1889 the *Rafiq-i-Hind* (Lahore) published a communication, the writer of which reproduced the orders passed by the Government from time to time on the subject of kine slughter with a view to showing that on the occasion of the Bakr Id kine slaughter was lawful. The writer exhorted the Local Government to redeem the promise contained in paragraph 9 of the proclamation issued on the 29th March 1849 on the annexation of the Punjab, and to frame rules under Section 50 of Act IV of 1872, which should be published yearly in the Government Gazette. "This," said the writer, "is essentilly necessary, as the Muhammadans of Hoshiarpur, Jullundur, Rahon and Ludhiana who have got themselves into trouble for slaughtering kine on the Bakr Id, will never have the courage to perform what is, as a matter of fact, one of

their most important religious duties until they are assured that the practice in question is not a crime punishable under the Indian Penal Code. The publication of the rules will, moreover, enable the people to decide under what circumstances kine slaughter is prohibited."

248. On the 27th July 1889 the District Superintendent of Police, Bannu, reported that the practice of cow-killing on public roads which gives such great offence to Hindus and others appeared to be on the increse.

249. In August 1889 a report was received from Lalian in the Jhang district that the practice of sacrificing cows was becoming common at Muhummadan weddings, and had given offence to the Hindus. This report is similar to the one received from Muzaffargarh in March of this year (see paragraph 239).

250. A statement was made in the *Aftab-i-Hind* (Jullundur), of the 3rd August 1889, that a certain Hindu resident of Jullundur was trying to induce his co-religionists to sign a memorial for presentation to the Deputy Commissioner praying for the removal of the slaughter-house from the Jullundur city, and suggesting that, if it was necessary to have a slaughter-house at all, one should be erected at a distance of three to four miles from the city. The *Aftab-i-Punjab* (Lahore), of the 7th August 1889, also published a letter from Bawa Surmukh Singh of Jullundur on the same subject. The writer, after stating that the *Aftab-i-Hind* did not give a true and impartial account of the case, remarked that a number of leading Hindus and Muhammadans signed the memorial of their own free will. In support of this assertion the Bawa gave the text of the memorial, which bore the signatures of the leading members of the Hindu and Muhammdan community of Jullundur.

251. In its issue of the 5th August 1889 the *Rias-i-Hind* (Amritsar) expressed surprise that all the prisoners who were

undergoing life sentences for kine slughter in Kashmir were released on the occasion of the late Maharaja Ranbir Singh's *Chaubarsi*, or fourth year.

252. Early in August 1889 two cows brought to Rewari by Muhammadans were seized by the Police on representation of Hindus as suspected property. As the cows were intended for the Id and the prominent person on the other side was one of the Managers of the Hindu Gaushala, there was a complication. The Deputy Commissioner, however, disposed of the quarrel himself on the night of the 9th at Rewari.

253. A few days after this occurrence a butcher of Rewari by name Gaju reported that one of the cows the seizure of which gave rise to the religious dispute above alluded to, had strayed away. The other butchers disbelieved this statement, and after holding a panchayat expressed their opnion that the animal was sold to the Hindus for Rs. 300. They then decided not to associate with Gaju any longer.

254. On the day of the Bakr Id festival (8th August 1889) some baniahs of Rohtak reported that a cow had been killed in the town by dhobis. The District Superintendent of Police proceeded to the spot and, after dipersing two crowds of Hindus who had collected evidently with the intention of making a disturbance, held an enquiry and arrested six persons who were immediately concerned in the slaughter of the cow. By order of the Deputy Commissioner the carcass was then removed and buried outside the town. The excitement gradually subsided, but a good deal of ill-feeling existed for some time afterwards between the Hindus and Muhammadans in consequence of this occurrence. The *Koh-i-Nur* (Lahore), alluding to the above event, stated that at Rohtak certain Muhammadan washermen slaughtered a cow at the instance of a Police havildar and thereby caused great excitement among the Hindus of the town. A riot would have taken place had

not the District Superintendent of Police immediately hastened to the spot and caused the beef to be buried outside the town and pressed the Hindus and Muhammadans to come to an understanding. On the following day the Deputy Commissioner called both parties to a meeting, and delivered a speech which, instead of bringing ahout a reconciliation between the parties, excited them more than ever. They were raising funds for the purpose of prosecuting one another.

255. In its issue of the 17th August 1889 the *Koh-i-Nur* (Lahore) published a communication in which the writer stated that on the occasion of the Bakr Id festival certain mischievous Muhammadans of Rampur killed a cow and sprinkled its blood on the door of the house of Lala Parmeshari Das, Diwan to the Nawab. The writer charged the Rampur Police with gross neglect of duty, and remarked that such occurrences generaly resulted in unpleasant consequences.

256. On the same day a report was received from Rohtak that owing to the recent case of cow-killing at that place the Hindus and Muhammadans had started a system of "boycotting," each refusing to have any dealings with the other. Both parties established their own shops, vegetable stalls, & c., and raised subscriptions for the purpose of defraying the expenses of the law suits which they intended bringing against one another. It was said that the Muhammadans had engaged the services of Mr. Kirkpatrick, Pleader of Delhi, to protest against the action of the Deputy Commissioner of Rohtak in refusing to allow them to cut up and eat the cow that was killed. The Hindus, on the other hand, were reported to be desirous of obtaining a legal decision that the sacrifice of cows should be totally and permanently prohibited in Rohtak.

257. The *Punjab Punch* (Lahore), of the 22nd August 1889. published a communication dwelling on the importance of preserving kine, and calling upon the people of India to sub-

scribe towards a fund for the purpose of establishing charitable gaushalas for preserving and feeding old cattle.

258. On the 21st August 1889 two Jats visited the village of Baland and asked the villagers to send about 50 Jats armed with clubs to Rohtak on the 6th and 7th September when the *Jaljhulni* and Muharram festivals were to take place. The Baland Jats found on enquiry that their visitors were not properly accredited messengers from the Jats of Rohtak, and took no action. Some Muhammadan dealers in hides and spices were at the same time reported to have complained of having been illtreated when visiting Hindu villages and of being unable to sell their goods owing to the "boycoting" system that had been started.

259. On the 24th August 1889 it was reported that since the Id festival at Thanesar the friction between the Hindus and Muhammadans of that town had slightly increased. The baniahs were reported to be assisting the Brahmins to raise funds with a view to instituting proceedings in Court. A sum of Rs. 700 had already been collected, and Rs. 1200 more were being arranged for. Some of the Hindus at Ladwa were also said to have helped the Thanesar Brahmins with money to take action against the Muhammadans in the matter of kine-killing. This report was corroborated by one of a similar purport received from Amritsar shortly afterwards.

260. On the same day one Nehal Chand of Jullundur informed the officer in charge of the Khanna Police Station that a Committee consisting of both Hindus and Muhammadans had been formed in the Hissar district for the purpose of suppressing kine slaughter.

261. A slight disagreement was reported to have taken place between the Hindus and Muhammadans of Jagadhri caused by the latter having slaughtered a few head of cattle at the Id.

262. In the latter part of September 1889 Maulvi Alik Ullah

of Thanesar was reported to have applied to the Delhi Anjuman-i-Islamia for funds to institute proceedings against the Hindus for their conduct during the Id festival. The Anjuman, however, replied that as they were also engaged in collecting subscriptions for the restoration to the Muhammadans of a mosque at Shahabad which was in the possession of the Sikhs, they could not comply with this request.

263. On the 21st September 1889 the District Superintendent of Police, Karnal, reported that he saw in Panipat certain Muhammadan dhobis of the town of Rohtak who had been apparently implicated in the case of cow-killing which occurred in their *mahalla* during the Id. They said they would remain at Panipat for a time, as they were afraid to return home lest they should be waylaid and assaulted by Jat villagers.

264. On the same day a report was received from Rohtak that the baniahs of that town were subscribing liberally to put a stop to cow-killing and were instigating the Hindu Jats to murder butchers, for which they promised them handsome rewards.

265. During the last week of September 1889 it was rumoured in Delhi that the Punjabi merchants and shoesellers were anxious to move Government to permit cows to be killed for *kurbani* inside their houses. They said that if this were done the Hindus would be spared considerable annoyance, as they would not see the animals being taken out for slaughter.

266. On the 28th September 1889 the District Superintendent of Police, Umballa stated that the friction between Hindus and Muhammadans at Jagadhri had subsided. The Muhammadans who, contrary to orders, slaughtered some cattle were fined, and instructions were again issued by the Deputy Commissioner strictly prohibiting the sacrifice of kine at Jagadhri.

267. On the same day it was reported that the Hindus of Sohana, Mataur and Kamah in the Chandigarh Police jurisdiction of the Umballa district were trying to get copies of the pamphlet published at Lucknow against kine-killing with the object of joining the agitation.

268. Early in November 1889 Sardar Basawa Singh of Laroha, Police Station Bhogpur, District Jullundur, stated that on the application of a zamindar a slaughter-house was opened at village Sohelpur in that district, and that this had given offence to the Hindus, who retaliated by placing pig's flesh on their wells. The authorities were eventually obliged to interfere and the slaughter-house was removed.

269. About this time Kewal Singh, Zaildar, complained to the Tahsildar of Bahadurgarh in the Rohtak district that cattle were slaughtered and carried into the city on bullocks and that he objected to this practice.

270. On the 11th November 1889 a Brahmin of Pindori Galla was heard to say in the Taran Taran bazar that cows were being ill-used under British rule; that at the last cattle fair at Amritsar he saw butchers purchasing all the old and useless animals for the purpose of slaughtering them; and that such cruel treatment would never have been tolerated under a Sikh Government.

271. The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 14th November 1889, reproduced a paragraph from the *Nasim-i-Sahar* of Mirzapur to the effect that kine slaughter was increasing with the increase in the number of sabhas for the preservation of kine, and that since the English themselves practice kine-slaughter it was idle to expect them to prevent other people from doing the same.

272. From Montgomery a report was received on the 21st December 1889 that some Muhammadans had killed a cow in Jhakkar village and had eaten its flesh. In retaliation one Kishen

Singh brought a pig into the village and said he would kill and eat it. He was, however, dissuaded. No disturbance occurred.

1890

273. Ealy in January 1890 it was reported that the Hindu residents of Kasauli made a complaint regarding the manner in which beef was carried and sold by the butchers of that place. The Cantonment Committee thereupon resolved that the butchers should not be permitted to carry meat through the bazars, but should take a lower road, that the meat should be covered with a cloth, and that chicks should be used by the butchers in their shops in order that the meat should be concealed from view of the passers-by.

274. About this time some ill-feeling was reported to have sprung up between the Hindus and Muhammadans of Makhu, a town in the Ferozpur district, about the slaughter of cows, the Hindus having shut up their shops to the Muhammadans for a day or so. The matter was at once reported to the Deputy Commissioner with a suggestion that the Hindu chaudhris should be called up and warned. It may here be noted that this case was settled on the 8th February, the Muhammadans giving in *rasinamas* for the ill-treatment received.

275. At a meeting of the Arya Samaj held at Taran Taran in the latter part of January 1890 the members were invited to devote more attention towards the protection of cows and to contribute liberally for the maintenance of those animals which had been rescued from the slaughter-house.

276. Some excitement was caused in Kana Kacha, Lahore district, in February 1890 by some Sikhs having feasted in the village on the flesh of wild boar. The Muhammadans prepared to kill and eat a cow, but were dissuaded. Complaint

was lodged in Court by the Muhammadans, but subsequently a compromise was filed. It was further reported that feeling ran high in the village, and that each sect disturbed the other when at their devotions.

277. The *Pate Khan* (Lahore), of the 19th February 1890, stated that the Muhammadans of a village near Lakhu (Zira tahsil) killed a cow and a shoemaker of Lakhu bought the skin and carried it into the villge. The Hindus of the place thereupon assaulted him and his two infant children. Other Muhammadans who came to his aid also received similar treatment. The shoe-maker was sent to hospital and the Hindu baniahs closed their shops.

278. Almost this time, at the usual meeting of the Amritsar Arya Samaj, Shib Dat, Brahmin, suggested that all the Arya Associations in different districts should be invited to collect subscriptions for the purpose of rescuing cows from butchers by outbidding the latter during the approaching Baisakhi Cattle Fair. This proposal met with general approval.

279. Swami Ala Ram, one of the leaders of the anti-cow killing agitation, arrived in Lahore early in March 1890, and gave addresses at the *Tribune* Press, Lahore, on the 25th, 27th and 29th March, in which he denounced the pratice of cow-killing and advised all classes and creeds, to abstain from the use of animal food. In his lectures he made use of most forcible language and showed no regard for the susceptibilities of those whose practices he condemned. Previously to his arrival in Lahore, Ala Ram had been lecturing in Sukkur on kine killing. This man was reported by the Bombay authorities to have on one occasion suffered imprisonment for making inflammatory speeches.

On Swami Ala Ram's arrival in Lahore enquiries were instituted through the District Superintendent of Police of that district with a view to ascertaining whence the funds were

obtained by this individual to enable him to pay his expenses, and from the enquiries made it appeared that Ala Ram lived on charity, being clothed and fed by the general public, especially by the Hindus, and that he never solicited alms. He was further reported to be not at all avaricious and to be satisfied with the common necessaries of life.

280. One Pohlo Mal, in the course of lecture delivered at a meeting of the Taran Taran Arya Samaj on the 22nd March, stated that at Bahramgarh, district Fatehpur, eight cows were rescued by a Hindu, who outbid the butchers and purchased the animals. The speaker urged all true Hindus to help in this good cause and protect cows from being slaughtered.

281. On the 27th March 1890 the following persons assembled at the house of Nawab Sharf-ud-din Khan in Delhi City: Maulvi Mahmud-ul-Haq, late tahsildar; Badr-ud-din Khan, hakim; Maulvi Ahsan-ul-Haq; Syad Nasir; Mirza Ikbal Shah; and Nawab Rukn-ud-din. The object of the meeting was to consider the advisability of getting permission for the Muhammadans of Delhi to slaughter cattle for *kurbani* in their houses, a privilege which was said to have been granted by the authorities to their co-religionists in Allahabad.

282. On the 30th March Swami Ala Ram arrived at Amritsar, and on the 2nd April preached in the Guru-ka-Bagh and at the Golden Temple on the subject of protecting cows and providing gaushalas for them. He stated that he had been travelling about for some years and had been the means of establishing 360 gaushalas in Hindustan, and that there were 1,500 animals in the Allahabad Gaushala, where milk was selling at one anna a seer, whereas in the market the price was two annas a seer. He said that in some places Muhammadans had contributed liberally towards keeping up these gaushalas, referred to the *Kuran* and *Hadis* (traditional sayings of the Prophet) which require all classes to be merciful, and pointed

out that the cow, which is so useful, demands more mercy than anything else. He expressed great regret that Amritsar, where he first preached four or five years ago, had not provided a gaushala, and in conclusion announced his intention of remaining in that city for one month and of lecturing fron time to time on the advantages attending the National Congress movement.

283. On the 4th April Swami Ala Ram delivered a lecture at Amritsar on the advantages of protecting kine from slaughter, and recited some verses of his own composition which had the effect of exciting the feelings of the people.

On the 8th April he again lectured in the Guru-ka-Bagh on the same subject. Bawa Narain Singh, Pleader, and many Hindus of the city assembled to hear him. They exhibited a printed paper in which it was stated that kine-killing was a very wicked practice, but the establishment of asylums for the protection of cows was a virtuous act, towards which subscriptions were invited. Many people contributed according to their means. The purport of the Swami's lecture was as follows:– A Rajput sepoy saw a man selling a cow to butchers for Rs. 20. He offered to buy the animal at that price, but the owner refused to part with it for less than Rs. 25. On the Rajput agreeing to give that amount the seller demanded Rs. 30. In this manner the price of the cow was raised to Rs. 75 which sum was also refused by the owner. The sepoy becoming enraged rushed off for his regulation sword (*kirch*) with which he decapitated the owner of the cow, and took the animal to the asylum for rescued kine. He was arrested by the Police and sent for trial, but was acquitted, as the Court held that the owner of the cow, with intent to hurt the religious feelings of the Hindus, offered the animal for sale to butchers, and that the accused committed the offence while under the influence of grave provocation and religious excitement. Thus

the murderer by this meritorious act saved his own life. It was a matter of regret, the Swami went on to say, that the Hindus paid so little attention to this important matter, merely contenting themselves with the idea that under British rule the protection of kine was difficult. They forgot that under the Hindu regime no asylums were necessary, whereas under the present Government no less than 300 had been established. The city of Amritsar, the cradle of the Hindu religion, the founder of which was Guru Ram Das, was up to date without an asylum. It is written in the *Dharm Shastras* that when a cow dies with a rope round its neck the owner should undertake a pilgrimage to the Ganges and be beaten there by sweepers so as to wash away this great sin which even then could be expiated with great difficulty. How great, then, must be the sins of those who allow butchers to purchase cows, an act amounting to slaughtering the animals with one's own hands. The Swami, therefore, exhorted his audience to ponder over the enormity of this offence. The efforts of one or two individuals were, he said, useless, so he urged the Hindu population, numbering 20,000,000 persons, to unite as one body and put a stop to this iniquitous practice. He entreated them not to sell their cattle to any but those whose characters were well known to them, so as to prevent the animals from falling into the hands of butchers. In conclusion, he advised them to collect all the money they could and invest it in purchasing cows with the object of protecting them from slaughter, and also to constuct asylums for them.

On the 9th April Swami Ala Ram lectured again in the Guru-ka-Bagh on the National Congress, Bawa Narain Singh and many others being present. At the conclusion of the lecture subscriptions were again collected for providing asylums for cows rescued from slaughter.

284. Ala Ram again delivered addresses on the 12th, 13th

and 14th April against the slaughter of kine. He said on the 12th that those who practise kine-killing will eventually be slaughtered themselves. On the 14th, among other things, he stated that Munshi Nawal Kishor, C.I.E., of Lucknow, was untruthful, a tale-bearer and a flatterer; that on one occasion when asked by Ala Ram why he had refused to join the National Congress and how he would be able to render a satisfactory explanation to 33,000,000 Hindus, Nawal Kishor replied that he was well aware of the advantages which his children would derive from the Congress, but that he was unable to openly join the movement, as Government owed him four lakhs of rupees for printing; that he was, however, prepared to pay or subscribe Rs. 500 to the Congress funds. With regard to Sir Syad Ahmad, K.C.S.I., of Aligarh, Ala Ram denounced him as an enemy, and said he was hostile to the movement directed against the slaughter of kine; that he was neither a Hindu nor a Mussalman, and that the people of Mecca had declared him to be an infidel. Raja Shiva Parshad of Benares was the third person Ala Ram abused and called an enemy of the National Congress. The lecturer concluded by remarking that these three persons were at heart in favour of the Congress, but that, being flatterers, they had not joined the movement openly and pretended to be opposed to it.

The District Superintendent of Police, Amritsar, remarking on the above reports of Ala Ram's doings, says:- "There is a decided indication of a mischievous intention to work on the religious feelings of the Hindus, inciting them to commit murder and other lawlessness in the same manner as Ram Singh, the Kuka Guru, did - *vide* Ala Ram's reference to the Rajput who killed the owner of a cow and by his meritorious act escaped from justice. Ala Ram is putting up with Bawa Narain Singh, Pleader. The latter needs careful watching, as his sole object is to invest himself with increased importance

in the eyes of the people by identifying himself with every political movement hostile to the Government. Members of the Arya Samaj and other Hindu sects contribute liberally towards providing funds for Ala Ram's travelling and other expenses."

It was ascertained from Swami Ala Ram's disciples that he was a carpenter by trade and a resident of a village in the Gharenda Police jurisdiction of the Amritsar district, where his wife and a son aged 20 years are living. About 17 years ago he became a fakir, and for some time was in the habit of reciting verses from the *Sandhia Gaitri* (a Hindu hymn book). Later on he preached on the advantages of the Arya Samaj tenets, and five years ago took a prominent part at Amritsar in lecturing against the slaughter of kine. On that occasion Ala Ram proceeded to Hardwar with a large number of cows purchased by the Arya Samaj at the Diwali Cattle fair.

285. On the 18th April 1890 one Ganga Ram a gave a lecture in Amritsar city, the substance of which is as follows:–Five years ago he accompanied Swami Ala Ram with lean cows from Amritsar to Hardwar, and thence to Cawnpore, Allahabad and other places, where Ala Ram went about preaching on the subject of establishing asylums for cattle. Ganga Ram remained two years with Ala Ram and then returned to Amritsar and took service with Bawa Narain Singh, Pleader, with whom he stayed three years. At that time Narain Singh was a member of the Arya Samaj but was excommunicated for misappropriating the funds of the Association. He afterwrds joined the Singh Sabha, and collected and applied to his own use a large sum of money which he had received from *Mazbis* on promising to secure for them social equality short of eating and drinking with Sikhs.

286. About this time Ala Ram preached at Majitha under the patronage of Sardar Dial Singh.

287. Shortly after this some butchers of Khairpur, tahsil Alipur, in the Muzaffargarh district, slaughtered a cow at the usual place, and a portion of the flesh was carried to their shops by mistake when some Hindus happened to be buying goat's meat. This gave offence to the Hindus, who refused after this to purchase goat's meat from the butchers.

288. In the last week of April Mirza Sruaiya Jah, of the ex-Royal family of Delhi, left that city for Benares, accompanied by four attendants, with the object of obtaining a copy of an order issued on the subject of kine-killing. This he succeeded in obtaining at Allahabad, after which he went on to Tonk.

289. On the 4th May 1890 Swami Ala Ram, accompanied by Bawa Narain Singh, Pleader, went about the Golden Temple and also heard Swami Keshwa Nand lecturing but both he and Narain Singh avoided speaking or lecturing. The following particulars regarding the antecedents of Swami Ala Ram were obtained and reported by the District Superintendent of Police, Amritsar:- At Manhula-Khan-Khana, Police Station Manawa, district Lahore, there resided four brothers, all carpenters, by name Jowahir Singh, Hira Singh, Dya Singh and Del Singh. Del Singh married Mussammat Rami and had two sons, Ala Singh (who now calls himself Ala Ram) and Nehal singh. He then removed with his family to the Kapurthala State and, earned a livelihood by the sale of a manuscript *Pothi* and *Granths*. Del Singh eventually died, and Ala Ram and his brother Nehal Singh, following the occupation adopted by their father, removed to Sukkur in Sind. There Nehal Singh died and Ala Ram turned a *fakir* and remained in those parts. At the same time he discontinued having any communication with his mother, Rami, his wife, Lachmi, and his son, Sundar Singh, who was then only four years old, living in his native village. Four years after Ala Ram turned a fakir, his wife Lachmi married a man in village

Dhirki, Police Station Khalra, district Lahore. Meanwhile Sundar Singh remained with his grandmother, Mussammat Rami, who brought him up. Four years ago Ala Ram visited Neshta, a village in this district, and from there went to his native village and would have nothing to do with his mother, son and relatives, and after four days went to Lahore. His son Sundar Singh has been working as a carpenter on Rs. 15 or Rs. 16 per mensem at the Jacobabad Railway Station for the last 18 months or 2 years. He has not sent any money for his old grandmother. Jiwan Singh, son of Dya Singh (Ala Ram's cousin), is employed in the Sukkur Railway Workshops on Rs. 12 or Rs. 14 per mensem. Prem Singh, son of Jowahir Singh (another cousin of Ala Ram), is working as a carpenter at Marri. Kala Singh, son of Hira Singh, a third cousin, is employed as a carpenter on Rs. 10 or Rs. 15 per mensem in the Lahore Railway Workshops. Dya Singh, an uncle of Ala Ram, is working as a carpenter in his native village. Ala Ram had no aunts or sisters. His mother, Rami, belongs to village Jagdeo Police Station Ajnala, and his wife, Lachmi, came from village Jhanjoti, Police Station Lopoki, district Amritsar. Four years ago Ala Ram visited Neshta, a village in the Gharinda Police Station jurisdiction. He lectured for two or three days and then proceeded to Lahore.

290. Swami Ala Ram again lectured on gaushala in the Guru-ka-Bagh on the 22nd May and obtained signatures for the Bradlaugh Bill on the part of the National Congress.

291. On the 26th May Ala Ram again lectured in the Guru-ka-Bagh. Both he and Bawa Narain Singh, Pleader, were reported to be making every effort to obtain signatures of the city and rural people in support of the National Congress, but under the pretence of stopping the slaughter of kine and discontinuance of the income tax.

292. On the 28th June 1890 Ala Ram left Mooltan for Karachi,

where his arrival was noted in the Bombay Police Abstract for the week ending 26th July 1890. A note was also added to Ala Ram's arrival report to the effect that he was believed to have been imprisoned in the Karachi Jail some 10 or 12 years ago for publicly insulting the religion of the Sikhs, making use of defamatory expressions regarding their guru, Nanak, and at the same time tearing out certain leaves from the *Granth*.

293. On the same day a report was received from Rohtak that some of the lower caste Muhammadans were endeavouring to arrange for the sacrifice of a cow on the same spot in the *dhobis' mahalla* where the disturbance occurred in 1889.

294. In the *Kaisar-ul-Akhbar* (Karnal), dated 19th July 1890, appeared an article in which the writer said that the Muhammadans of Delhi recently applied to the local authorities for permission to slaughter kine in their houses on the Id festival, but that the Hindus of the town protested against such permission being granted. The disunion prevailing among the Hindus and Muhammadans was strongly to be condemned, and unless they sank their petty differences they would be unable to make any progress. Apparently the protection of kine was considered a religious duty among the Hindus, not only for the sake of agriculture, but also for a plentiful supply of milk and butter, which are the necessaries of life. This being the case, if the Muhammadans were to continue to practice kine slaughter, they would suffer as much as the Hindus. The writer expressed his opinion that if the Hindus desisted from trying to prevent Muhammadans from killing kine, the latter would realize the disadvantages of the practice and discontinue it. The Muhammadans were not bound by their religion to slaughter cows on the Id, but if instead of killing goats and other animals they considered it necessary

to kill kine, they should do so inside their houses so as not to injure the feelings of the Hindus.

295. On the 26th July 1890 the District Superintendent of Police, Rohtak, reported as follows:- "Orders have been issued by the Magistrate of the District strictly defining the areas within which the slaughter of kine during the Bakr Id will be permitted. The feelings of both sects have received the feeling consideration, and no reasonable being would suppose that either party had any grounds to consider themselves unfairly treated. Yet it is believed that some notorious bad characters have gone to appeal to the Commissioner to interfere with the orders issued. A force of 200 constables has been brought together, and the arrangements approved by the Deputy Commissioner and Deputy Inspector-General are such as to preclude any likelihood of dirturbance.

296. On the same day a report was received from Amritsar that some friction existed between the Hindus and Muhammadans, especially with reference to the orders of Government issued on the subject of kine-killing and selling beef. The *Singh Sahai* newspaper suggested that the slaughter of goats and sheep should also be stopped by the Muhammadans.

297. On the 29th July 1890 a meeting of Hindus was held at Jagadhri at the house of Bansi Lal, President of the Committee, at which it was decided to boycott the local merchants because they had slaughtered kine on the Id. Regarding this individual the Deputy Commissioner, Umballa, wrote as follows:– "Bansi Lal has got a reputation as a loyal *Kursi-nashin*. I fear that he is really one of the most mischievous intriguers of Jagadhri."

298. About this time the following rules regarding the slaughter of kine were published by the Punjab Government :-

Punjab Government - Home Department.
General.
15th July 1890

No. 819. Notification – Whereas it is declared in Section 43 of Act IV of 1872, the Punjab Laws Act, that the slaughter of kine and sale of beef shall not take place except subject to rules to be prescribed by the Local Government; and whereas doubts have been entertained as to the validity of the rules heretofore in force, and it is desirable to maintain the practice which has prevailed under those rules :

The following rules, which have received the previous sanction of the Governor-General in Council, are hereby prescribed by the Lieutenant-Governor:–

I.–(1) Kine shall not be slaughtered in any town or on any town lands except in a place licensed for the purpose by a written licence granted by the Deputy Commissioner, and in accordance with the conditions of such licence.

(2) The Deputy Commissioner may, at his discretion, and without giving reasons, refuse to grant such licence.

(3) In these rules the words "town" and "town lands" mean respectively all municipalities, cantonments and civil stations, also all *kasbas* or market-towns not being municipalities to which a place set apart or appointed as a public slaughter-house for kine has been heretofore attached, and is attached when these rules come into force, and all lands which are within either the *mausa* boundaries or the municipal limits of any town.

(4) Any yard or enclosure within town lands or adjacent to such lands, which has at the time these rules come into force been appointed by a Municipal Committee or Cantonment authority, or has been continuously used for the past three years as a public slaughter-house for the slaughter of

kine, shall be deemed to have been licensed by the Deputy Commissiner under this rules: Provided that the Deputy Commissioner may at any time require the persons using or maintaining such slaughter-house to take out a licence in writing under these rules and may prohibit the slaughter of kine in such slaughter-house till the licence is taken out, and till the conditions of the licence are complied with.

II.– (1) Beef shall not be hawked about or exposed for sale in any town or on any town lands except within the enclosure of a public slaughter-house licensed under Rule I, or at a shop licensed for the purpose in writing by the Deputy Commissioner.

(2) A place which has at the time these rules come into force been appointed by a Municipal Committee or Cantonment authority, or has been continuously used for three years as shop for the sale of beef, shall be deemed to have licensed for the purpose by the Deputy Commissioner: Provided that the Deputy Commissioner may at any time require the person owning or using the shop to take out a license under these rules and may prohibit the sale of beef in such shop till the licence is taken out, and till the conditions of the license are complied with.

(3) The Deputy Commissioner may at his discretion and without giving reasons refuse to grant a licence for the sale of beef at any shop which has not been heretofore licensed within the meaning of this rule, and may by order in writing withdraw the licence of any shop which he considers superfluous or objectionable , and which has not been continously maintained for more than three years.

III.– The Deputy Commissioner may, by written order addressed to the headman or headmen or any village, or head-

man or chaudhris of any *kasba*, apply the provisions of Rules I and II to such village or *kasba* and the lands included within their *mausa* boundaries, or to any defined part thereof, if he thinks it necessary for the preservation of peace among the residents of such village or *kasba* or for the prevention of riot or affray.

IV.–With the sanction of the Commissioner of the Division, or in urgent cases in anticipation of such sanction, the Deputy Commissioner may–

(1) Prohibit the slaughter of kine or sale of beef in any place where they have heretofore been licensed under these rules, and appoint some other place or places for the purpose instead;

(2) temporarily suspend any licence held under these rules:

Provided that the sanction of the Commissioner shall not be necessary to the issue of orders under the provisos to Rules I (4) or II (2), or to the withdrawal of a licence under these rules when the conditions of such licence are not observed.

V.– All orders of a Deputy Commissioner–

(1) licensing or refusing to licence any place for the slaughter of kine;

(2) applying the provisions of Rule I to any village or *kasba*, or rejecting a petition for their application;

(3) licensing any shop for the sale of beef, or refusing to license the same or withdrawing the licence;

(4) prohibiting the slaughter of kine or the sale of beef in any place where it has heretofore been permitted, and appointing some other place instead;

(5) temporarily suspending any licence held under these rules;

shall be open to revision by the Commissioner of the Di-

vision of his own motion or on application by any person interested, and may be modified or cancelled by him, and the Local Government may require the Commissioner to modify or cancel all such orders, or may itself modify or cancel all such orders passed by the Deputy Commissioner or passsed by the Commissioner in revision. Effect shall be given to a revised order under this rule as if it had been an original order.

VI.– Whoever breaks any rules made under Section 43 of Act IV of 1872 shall on conviction be punished with imprisonment which may extend to six months, or with fine which may extend to three hundred rupees, or with both.

299. The *Aftab-i-Hind* (Jullundur), of the 2nd August, the *Aftab-i-Punjab* (Lahore), of the 30th July, and the *Kaisar-ul-Akhbar* (Karnal), of the 26th July 1890, published articles in favour of the rules recently framed by the Punjab Government on the subject of kine slaughter. In its issue of the 8th August 1890 the *Dost-i-Hind* (Bhera) published the substance of the rules framed by the Punjab Government with a view to regulating the slaughter of kine, and remarked that the Lieutenant Governor had entitled himeself to the gratitude of the native community by framing rules so well calculated not only to render the occurrence of riots impossible, but also to promote friendly relations between Hindus and Muhammdans.

300. On the 9th August 1890 the District Superintendent of Police reported that the Muhammadans in Amritsar were said to be much annoyed in consequence of the issue of the new rules about kine-killing. They considered that their religious rights had been interfered with in order to propitiate the Hindus. With reference to the above the District Magistrate of

Amritsar remarked that the Muhammadans were sulky, but were keeping quiet, and that the history and motive of the rules had been explained to them.

301. About the same time an order was passed by the Municipal Committee, Pathankot, with the Deputy Inspector Kalka Singh's knowledge, that the slaughter-house at Pathankot should be closed. Deputy Commissioner went to the place and set matters right.

302. The *Gham Khwar-i-Hind* (Lahore) dated 9th August 1890, took the *Urdu Guide*, Calcutta, to task for publishing articles on kine slaughter calculated to estrange the Hindus and Muhammadans from each other, and advised the Editor of that paper to refrain from doing so in future and to try and promote union among all classes of the people.

303. The *Arya Gazette* (Ferozpur) of the 8th August 1890, took the *Kaisar-ul-Akhbar* (Karnal) to task for stating in a recent issue that the ancient Hindus sometimes killed kine.

304. On the 20th August 1890 the *Singh Sahai* (Amritsar) published a letter from a correspondent stating that the Muhammadans of Jagadhri killed a cow for the first time on the Id at the instance of the Muhammadan tahsildar. In spite of the orders passed by Government prohibiting kine slaughter, the Muhammadans openly paraded beef through the streets and threw bones at the houses of the Hindus.

305. The *Sirmoor Gazette* (Nahan) of the 19th August 1890, writing on the same subject, said that as the Muhammadans of Jagadhri were poor they were not allowed to perform their religious ceremonies by the Hindus, who are all powerful in the town. The new rules by which Deputy Commissioners are allowed to grant licences for kine slaughter greatly offended the Hindus, who were trying to boycott the Muhammadans in revenge. The writer expressed a hope that the National Congress delegates would go to Jagadhri and try to

bring about a reconciliation between the parties.

The same number of this paper contained an account of the Id at Aligarh from the *Aligarh Gazette*, which stated that Muhammadans killed some kine, and the Hindus in consequence held a large meeting, and with a view to boycotting the Muhammadans passed a resolution to the effect that Hindus should neither buy anything from the Muhunmadans nor employ them on any work. As a result of this meeting the Muhammadan *ghosis* were compelled to sell their milk at 24 seers per rupee, whereas the Hindu *ahirs* were selling milk at 6 seers per rupee. Hindu litigants had moreover, withdrawn their retainers from Muhammadan Pleaders after having engaged them. Hindus were, however, not prohibited against selling to the Muhammadans. The writer expressed a hope that the Congressionists who represent the Hindus and Muhammadans to be one and the same nation would endeavour to pacify the two communities. It was much to be regretted that the Hindus in their boycotting resolution did not make an exception even in favour of those Muhmmadans who were warm supporters of the Congress.

306. About this time a report was received from Gurgaon of the existence of a good deal of ill-feeling between the Hindus and Muhammadans of Aligarh. The former were reported to have circulated notices threatening Hindus against disposing of cattle to Muhammadans and calling on their brethren to circulate the information far and wide. Any one receiving a notice was called on to send out four. A translation of the Hindi notice is given below:–

Notice

The Muhammadans and butchers of Aligarh sacrificed 15 cows at the late Id-ul-Zuha. One of the cows ran away and went to the Hindu temple, where it called out thus: "Are there

no Hindus in the world? The cow is the saviour of the Hindus and cursed is he who sells it to the Muhammadans." The Hindus have spent and will continue spending money to put a stop to kine-killing. The reader is requested to write out and distribute four copies of this notice or he will be cursed with the sin of cow-killing.

Three of these circulars were traced and apparently very little serecy was observed in forwarding these notices. The first was sent by the hands of a *Khatrab* of Banchari (Hodal Police Station) to Ram Dyal, lambardar of Balim (Hathin Police Station). The second was despatched by Salig, lambardar of Nagal Jat (Hathin Police Station), to Pirthi, lambardar of Andup (Hathin Police Station). The third was sent by the same lambardar to Lekh Ram, lambardar of Alibrahman (Hathin Police Station).

307. It was also reported from Jagadhri that the Hindus had decided to combine to boycot the Muhammadan traders of that town on account of the kine-killing propensities of the latter. Ill-feeling was said to run high between the two factions.

308. On the 30th August 1890 one Chattra Nand, Brahmin, of Allahabad, arrived at Delhi, where he preached in the streets against the slaughter of kine.

309. On the 12th September Swami Ala Ram lectured at the Golden Temple, Amritsar, on the evil of eating meat. He also advocated the establishing of gaushalas or asylums for weak and aged cows. He proceeded to Lahore on the 13th September, from which place he went to Jullundur, where he arrived on the 17th September and put up with Mian Jalmijh. He lectured on the 17th, 18th and 19th, but said nothing inflammatory, though his subjects were on kine-killing and taking of animal life.

310. On the 13th September Chedi Lal, Brahmin of

Cawnpore, who put up with Ambeh Sahai, proprietor of a press in the *Dhariba* preached to a crowd of Hindus and Muhammadans at the fountain opposite the kotwali. He advised both sects to keep on friendly terms, that times had changed and there was now no necessity for the slaughter of kine for purposes of sacrifice as other animals were plentiful and cheap, which was not the case in ancient times, when the sacrifice of kine was first adopted. About this time several letters were received in the Gurgaon district from Aligarh asking Hindus not to sell kine to butchers, &c..

311. On the 24th September the *Arya Gazette* (Ferozpur) published an article taking the *Kaisar-ul-Akhbar*, Karnal, to task for quoting wrong authorites from Sanskrit books in order to show that the Hindus were not proscribed from eating beef, and endeavoured to prove by a quotation from the *Ved* that beef was strictly prohibited.

312. Early in October the Hindus of Kot Adu in the Muzaffargarh district charged one Ranja, a *tarkhan*, with killing a bullock. They wired to the tahsildar of Sinanwan and also to Police Station Daeradinpana. Ranja went to Muzaffargarh to give a petition against the Hindus, but he was advised there not to do so as he was a poor man; that if he wanted to petition he had better collect Rs. 400 or Rs. 500 and if he had 40 or 50 men on his side, otherwise it was useless doing so. He therefore returned to his village. The Hindus of Kot Adu are collecting money to petition against Ranja.

313. On the 11th October Pandit Ojha of Ujjain arrived in Delhi on a visit to Lala Sri Kishen Das, Gurwala. The subject of gauraksha was discussed.

314. About this time a report was received from Delhi that pamphlets bearing on the cow question were being freely distributed all over the country. One Ram Pershad of Ballabgarh went to Sultanpur, Thana Hodal, Gurgaon district, and

brought them back with him. He was told that they had been received from Aligarh.

A rumour was also current at this time that the leading Hindus at Delhi sent word to many villages that no Hindu should sell cattle to the butchers on pain of being put out of caste, and that those who sold cattle to butchers would be held to have killed the cows themselves. In consequence of this action on the part of the Hindus, butchers found the greatest difficulty in procuring cows.

315. In the latter part of October articles appeared in the *Aftab-i-Punjab* (Lahore), the *Dost-i-Hind* (Bhera) and the *Mukhbar-i-Sadiq* (Kasur) expressing satisfaction at the news that the propriety of stopping kine slaughter was being discussed in Arabia. Writing on the same subject, the *Gham Khwar-i-Hind* (Lahore), of the 25th October 1890, observed that unless some steps were taken to provide some meat other than beef at a cheap rate for the poorer classes of Muhammadans it was idle to expect the latter to give up the practice of slaughtering kine. This paper also reproduced an article from the *Nairang*, which after stating that Akbar the Great stopped kine slaughter in order to prevent the destruction of a useful animal, remarked that it would not be difficult to induce the Muhammadans to give up the practice; but unless Government supplied mutton or buffaloes' meat to its European soldiers, instead of beef, there could be no hope of the practice being put down.

316. Early in November a report was received that Sir Syad Ahmad Khan of Aligarh had written full details of the state of affairs at that place to Hakim Abdul Majid Khan, and had asked his advice as to how kine-killing question could be settled to the satisfaction of both parties and Government.

317. On the 19th November the *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore) published a statement that the *Panches* of Fatehpur (Rajputana)

petitioned Rao Raja Jai Shankar to take steps for kine preservation, and that the latter had issued an order to all the thanadars in his territory to prevent the sale of kine to a Muhammadan or a Hindu not known to the authorities. The order further prohibited the export of cows beyond the limits of the Raja's territory. The restriction against selling kine to a Hindu not known to the authorities was said to have been made in order to preclude the possibility of a butcher purchasing cows in the guise of a Hindu.

318. On the 28th November a story appeared in the *Dost-i-Hind* (Bhera) to the effect that some of the Muhammadan zamindars of the Garar village killed an ox in a house belonging to them. A few days later the Hindus hearing of this occurrence called some of the leading Muhammadans and threatened to discontinue lending money to the Muhammadans of the village if they did not swear to refrain from killing kine. The Muhammadans promised to give an answer after consulting their co-religionists in the village; but the next day a Maulvi of the place in the course of his *waz* (sermon) remarked that the conduct of the Muhammadans who killed the ox was quite in conformity with the doctrines of their religion, and that whosoever prevented them from the practice should be excommunicated.

319. On the 6th December it was reported from Delhi that the Anti-Kine-Killing Society had turned out a failure, and that the *fakir*, who had gone there from Mathura on purpose to see it fairly started, had gone back again.

1891

320. The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), in its issue of the 10th January 1891, mentioned that numerous lectures were being de-

livered in the Madras Presidency calling upon the people to take measures for the preservation of kine, and urging on Government the desirability of prohibiting kine-slaughter by legislation.

321. On the 31st January 1891 the District Superintendent of Police, Ludhiana, reported that the Hindus appeared to be turning their attention towards slaughter-houses, and it appeared as if an agitation was being got up for their suppression. The Hindus, of Bahlolpur in the Machiwara Police Station, and those of a couple of Hindu villages in the Ludhiana Sadr Station, had petitioned to have the slaughter-houses in Bahlolpur and Baran Basu (about eight miles from the city of Ludhiana) shut up.

322. On the 7th February 1891 the District Superintendent of Police, Amritsar mentioned in his confidential diary that the Hindu passengers had complained that a slaughter-house had been established near the line of Railway at Umballa, and that it was distressing to them to see cattle killed before their very eyes.

323. Again, on the 21st February 1891, the District Superintendent of Police, Ludhiana, reported that there had been dispute in two different parts of the district regarding the slaughter-houses that were open in certain villages. The District Superintendent of Police inquired into the dispute at Bahlolpur and found that the Hindus had the upper hand there and had induced some influential Muhammadans to join them in their petition. The grounds for their objection were (1) that the health of the people suffered from eating diseased meat and mortality had also increased; (2) that slaughtering kine decreased the supply of bullocks and cows. The District Superintendent of Police noted that there was no foundation for these statements in Bahlolpur. The other dispute was at the Baran Basu village near Ludhiana. The Deputy Commissioner remarked that all that appeared needed was to make better arrange-

ments for inspection.

324. On the 2nd March Ala Ram, lecturer of the National Congress, arrived in Amritsar, where he was the guest of Bawa Narain Singh. He lectured in the Guru-Ka-Bagh and also in the Golden Temple on the evils of kine-killing, and exhorted Hindus to join in putting a stop to it. He also pointed out that owing to dissensions among the people the Government had obtained possession of Kashmir and was prepared to lay hands on Nipal.

325. On the 8th March 1891 Ala Ram, in a further address, called on his hearers to unite in putting a stop to kine-killing, and ended by saying "Don't murder the cow, whose milk you drink."

326. Towards the end of March 1891 a meeting was held at Bhiwani in the Hissar district, which was presided over by Pandit Din Dyal of Jhajjar, who calls himself the "General Secretary of the Bharat Dharam Maha Mandal." About four thousand Hindus, principally of the baniah caste, including several men of wealth and influence, were present. The Pandit in addressing the meeting exhorted the Hindus not to lavish large sums of money at weddings, as it would be better if they gave the money thus spent to brahmins, who would spend it to greater advantage, and the souls of the givers would benefit by it. All Hindus were warned not to grant loans to Muhammadans, as such money was usually spent in the purchase of cattle, which were ultimately slaughtered, and their skins used for different purposes, the sin whereof, rested upon the Hindus. The persons assembled were then called upon to sign an agreement that they would not spend money lavishly at marriages; that they would give up the practice having *nautches*, fire-works and such like; that they would also give up the practice of throwing money to the poor during marriage processions, and would as far as possible renounce any

dealings with the Muhammadans.

The Pandit then explained to the Hindus assembled that it was his intention to establish a *Patshala* in Delhi for the religious education of the sons of brahmins, but that as the scheme would cost a large sum of money – probably a lakh and half of rupees – he proposed that each Hindu house in the Harriana should contribute at least Re. 1 each among the poorest, and the others according to their means. For this object the sum of Rs. 1,251 was subscribed on the spot. It was also arranged by those present that they would undertake to collect money from the rural population.

The Pandit himself undertook to collect money for the above object from the different Rajas.

The Hindus of Bhiwani then suggested that a branch of the *Patshala* should be established at Bhiwani.

Before the meeting dispersed a further sum of about Rs. 150 or Rs. 200 was subscribed for the gaushala in Bhiwani, in which there were about three or four hundred head of cattle, which had become useless from old age or other causes.

327. On the 7th April 1891 a meeting of the Hindus of Pind Dadan Khan, Jhelum district, was held in the Nikka Das Dharmsala to protest against a butcher of Pind Dadan Khan being granted a licence to kill cattle during the Choha Saidan Shah fair. The Vice President of the Municipal Committee and the members were the leaders in this agitation, as well as some of the leading Hindus in Pind Dadan Khan. Altogether about 400 persons were present. The following resolutions were passed at the meeting, *viz*–

(1) That telegrams should be sent to the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab and to the Deputy Commissioner to stop the slaughter of cattle.

(2) That the Hindu of Katas should not go to the Choha Saidan Shah fair nor visit the shrine at that place.

From inquiries made on the spot the District Superintendent ascertained that since 1885 a butcher had always had a shop for the sale of beef at the time of the fair, but that until 1891 he had not applied for a licence. In 1891 a licence was granted to him on his applying for it, and arrangements were made to prevent beef from being brought into the fair. The District Superintendent of Police was also informed privately that one of the chief causes for the agitation was that the Hindus of Pind Dadan Khan had taken a dislike to the Assistant Surgeon, Fazl-ud-din, and wished to get him transferred, and it was alleged that it was owing to his influence and at his instigation that the butcher had applied for the licence. The agitation commenced at Pind Dadan Khan,and had it not been for the action of the Hindus there, the brahmins of Katas would not have taken any notice of the matter.

328. On the 25th of April 1891 the District Suprintendent of Police, Jhelum, reported that the case mentioned in the previous paragraph was still being talked about among the Hindus of Pind Dadan Khan, who asserted that the Assistant Surgeon, Fazl-ud-din, and Saif Ali, Sub-Registrar, had instigated the butcher to apply for a licence; that a number of the Hindus had refused to take medicine from the dispensary in consequence; and that they also declined to take meat from the Muhammadan butcher, and had purchased a number of goats, which they intended to kill as required by the Sikh method of "jhatka". Khazan Singh, Ram Asra, Jawala Sahai, Pleaders, and other members of the Municipal Committee were believed to be the leaders in this movement.

329. On the 14th May 1891 the *Singh Sahai* published the prospectus of a company started by Bawa Narain Singh, pleader, for the preservation of kine. It was stated in the prospectus that the profits to be derived from setting aside a piece of ground of 100 bigahs as grazing land for cattle, and from

the sale of the milk and young stock, were likely to be in excess of what could be obtained from a similar piece of land under ordinary cultivation.

330. About the middle of May the Assistant District Superintendent of Police, Pind Dadan Khan, reported that the ill-feeling between the Hindus and Muhammadans of that place still continued, and that the Hindus refused to purchase meat killed by the Muhammadan butchers. Jawala Sahai, Vice-President of the Municipal Committee, was said to be the head of the Hindu faction, and Attar Singh, Arora, and Jowala, shopkeeper, were the usual spokesmen at the meetings held in connection with this agitation.

331. Again in June the Assistant District Superintendent of Police, Pind Dadan Khan, reported that the Hindus refused to purchase soap manufactured by the Muhmmadans as they believed that it was prepared from beef fat. The Muhammadans on the other hand declined to sell milk to the Hindu *halwais*. The ill-feeling between the two parties appears to have been intensified owing to the Hindus having opened a *jhatka* shop near the bazar.

332. Toward the end of June 1891 Parmanand Gir, *sanyasi fakir*, who was staying at Amritsar with Bawa Narain Singh, Pleader, delivered an address in which he reproached the Hindus present for their apathy with regard to the kine-killing question. He advocated memorialising Government to close the slaughter houses and butchers' shops. Large number of people attended his lectures.

333. During the month of July the above-mentioned man was reported to be selling an antidote for snake-bite at Amritsar. In his circular his name appeared as Swami Parmhans of Arura, district Mirzapur. He had not lectured again on kine-killing.

334. In the same month it was reported that the Muhammadans of Kohar in the Gujrat district were in the habit of killing kine

secretly in the village, and that the Hindus felt hurt about it.

335. Reports were also current of considerable excitement at Shuhdara in the Delhi district over killing cows for the Id. The baniahs were said to have closed their shops for the day.

336. It was also stated that at Hardwar the Muhammadans had induced a Hindu to sell their cattle for them. They themselves went to bid, and the Hindus not in the secret, thinking the animals were for *kurbani*, bid up with great spirit, the owners realizing good prices in consequence.

337. It was further reported that the Muhammadans living in the Sadr Bazar and the Sabzi Mandi, Delhi, intended pointing out to the authorities that the slaughter-house was inconveniently placed for them. They apparently hoped to be allowed to sacrifice at home, or that some special arrangements for them would be introduced.

338. In the Delhi district it was reported that the Punjabi Muhammadans intended calling the attention of Government to the proclamation issued in 1857, and would ask, with reference to the terms therein set forth, why Government interfered with the old sanctioned practice of sacrificing in private houses.

339. The residents of Pipalwali Gali, Delhi, were also said to have received letters from friends, Hindus, in Calcutta, stating that a disturbance during the Id in the Machli Bazar was only averted by the Muhammadans giving up a cow purchased for *kurbani*.

340. A further report from Delhi stated that the butchers disapproved of being moved out of the market in Hamilton Serai to the other side of the Railway near the "Kashmiri Gate" and intended protesting.

341. At the beginning of August 1891 it was reported from the Rawalpindi district that Nabi Bakhsh, Khoja, an Honorary Magistrate in the city, had applied for permission to build

a butcher's shop where other butchers' shops existed. On learning this Mitha Mal and Lakku Mal, at the head of some Hindus, had objected. The Deputy Commissioner after personally inspecting the spot decided that there was no objection to the shop being built, and after censuring Mitha Mal and Lakku Mal warned them against inciting ill-feeling.

The Hindus were annoyed and proposed starting a *jhatka* shop in opposition to irritate the Muhammadans.

The Deputy Commissioner stated that the above account was not quite correct. Nabi Bakhsh had three years previously applied for leave to build a butcher's shop alongside of two others in the butchers' quarters. The required permission was given him and the shop was built. The Hindus then objected.

342. At Chak Miana, Ilaka Kot Maman, Shahpur district, a man named Hasan, Gondal, was reported to have cooked beef for a wedding feast publicly, which offended Ganda, Ganga and other Hindu neighbours, and but for the intervention of certain Constables, who were patrolling in the village at the time, the matter would have resulted in a quarrel.

343. On the 8th August 1891 the District Superintendent of Police, Delhi, reported that the Hindus were complaining of butchers being allowed to carry meat across the over-bridge, which was narrow, and presented a danger of blood, & c., dropping on them.

The Deputy Commissioner remarked on this that if the Hindus had their way there would be no meat to carry anywhere.

344. The *Bharat Sudhar* (Lahore), an organ of the Arya Samaj, in its issue of the 8th August 1891, stated that Swami Ala Ram, the anti-kine-killing agitator, had seceded from the Society.

345. In October the District Superintendent of Police, Shahpur, reported that the slaughter of a cow by a barber named

Channu at Jhawrian had caused some ill-feeling between the Hindus and Muhammadans.

A report was also received from police station Jhawrian in the same district that ill-feeling existed between the Hindus and Muhammadans owing to kine-killing, and that the Hindus had threatened to perform *jhatka* during the *Daserah*.

346. About the same time a dispute arose in the village of Puthi Mangal Khan in the Hansi ilaka, Hissar district, between the Hindus and Muhammadans about the slaughter of cattle.

347. On the 13th October 1891 the agitation at Pind Dadan Khan was again revived. A meeting of the Hindu community was convened by Jawala Sahai, Vice-President of the Muncipal Commitee, Lorind Chand, Gopal Singh, Tulsi Das and other leading men. This led to an opposition meeting on the part of the Muhammadans, headed by Fazal Din, Assistant Surgeon, and Pira, Khoja, a member of the Municipal Committee.

348. On the 17th October 1891 the District Superintendent of Police, Lahore, reported that Abdul Rahim, Wahabi of Zira, in the Ferozpur district, had come to Lahore, and given out that the Wahabis intended to appeal to the Chief Court against an order by which they were prevented from killing cattle at the Id, and that if successful the animals would be sacrificed at once. Chittu and other Wahabis subscribed Rs. 20 towards expenses.

349. The *Sanatan Dharam Gazette* (Sialkot), in its issue of the 20th October 1891, urged the importance of the preservation of kine, and considered that the Hindus should not shrink from sacrificing even their lives in furtherance of this object, as the loss of a single cow involved that of thousands of human beings. The *Gazette* called upon the different societies to establish Gaurakshani Sabhas, as it was calculated that if the present state of things continued the cow would become

extinct in India within the next 80 years. The article concluded by praising the action of Lala Bakhtawar Mal, Lala Dina Mal, Hari Das Mukarji, Station Master of Sonepat, and the Muhammadan Deputy Inspector of Police, in inducing a butcher to sell them 14 cows for Rs. 51.

350. Again on the 31st October, the District Superintendent of Police, Jhelum, reported that the Anti-*Jhatka* Committee in Pind Dadan Khan, headed by Pira, Khoja, had met, and tried to raise funds to open a milk and curd shop in opposition to the Hindu shop-keepers. They were, however, unable to collect any money .

351. The *Taj-ul-Akhbar* (Rawalpindi), in its issue of the 1st November 1891, stated that a Christian Clerk named Inayat Masih, belonging to the Mission School, had sent a student to purchase some beef for him from the bazar. The student on his return went to every class in search of the clerk with the beef in his hand. This gave offence to the Hindu students, who complained to the Head Master, and on the latter failing to take any notice of the matter, the boys absented themselves from school in the hope that their absence might lead the Head Master to enquire into the matter. Contrary to their expectations, however, the Head Master instead of taking up the matter passed an order to the effect that if they failed to return to school within 24 hours, and tender an apology, their names would be struck off the rolls.

352. The *Khair Khwah-i-Alam* (Delhi) of the 8th November 1891, referring to the above case, stated that great excitement prevailed among the Hindus, who held a meeting, and that the students had not returned to the shool.

353. At Jullundur a Jolaha named Gam, of Basti Sheikh, slaughtered a cow in his house. A report was sent to the Magistrate, who ordered the meat to be buried. The case was disposed of by the Deputy Commissioner, who convicted the

man on the 7th November 1891.

354. The District Superintendent of Police, Delhi, reported that gaushalas appeared to be springing up everywhere, and that people in Delhi had been asked to do all they could to send animals to Muzaffarnagar and Garh Mukhtesar to be looked after; that Rs. 400 had been subscribed by well-to-do Hindus towards providing a gaushala at Garh Mukhtesar in the Meerut district.

355. During December 1891 the District Superintendent of Police, Karnal, reported that a butcher's shop opened at the Ghosi Gate, Karnal, had been closed by Nawab Azmat Ali Khan as the Hindus in the vicinity objected to it, and the Nawab, to reassure them, had given in to their prejudices in the matter.

356. On the 2nd December a meeting was again held at Pind Dadan Khan at which Pindi Das, tahsildar of Hafizabad, in Gujranwala (on leave), Jowala Sahai and Lorind Chand took the lead. About 150 Hindus were present. The object of the meeting was to try and stop killing by *jhatka*, and also to induce the Hindus to again take meat from the Muhammadan butchers. The meeting was convened by Pindi Das at the request of the Muhammadan butchers, whose trade had suffered through the ill-feeling existing between the Hindus and Muhammadans.

357. About the same time Mauju, *mochi*, and some other Muhammadans instituted a case in the Magistrate's Court at Pind Dadan Khan to stop the Hindus killing goats, &c, by *jhatka*.

1892

On the 2nd January the District Superintendent of Police, Jhelum, reported that ill-feeling had again arisen at Rohtas

between the Hindus and Muhammadans on account of the latter having killed some cattle, and distributed the flesh among themselves. No actual disturbance, however, took place.

On the 16th January 1892, Narain Das, a Brahmin of Meerut, was noticed in Delhi collecting money for the expenses of a gaushala. He is said to have collected about 50 rupees.

On the 17th January Mauju, *mochi*, of Pind Dadan Khan, called a meeting of the Muhammadans in the Khajurwali Masjid to take measures to defeat the promoters of *jhatka*, and also to raise subscriptions.

The *Aftab-i-Punjab* (Lahore), of the 25th January 1892, published a communication in which the writer stated that the relation between the Hinuds and Muhammadans of Taru and Jaba in the Peshawar district had become strained, and that a breach of the peace was apprehended. The Muhammadans were said to have taken to killing cattle on the banks of the Kattha, from which the Hindus take water.

The *Taj-ul-Akhbar* (Rawalpindi), of the 6th February 1892, stated that at Dinga (Gujrat District) some Kashmiris slaughtered a cow. The Hindus of the *mohalla* reported the matter to the Police, but Abdul Ghani, the thanedar, paid no heed to the report. Gopal Singh and Gunda Singh thereupon went to Diwan Tirath Ram, President of the Municipal Committee, who deputed four of the members to make enquiries on the spot. One of them, Muhammad Khan, Zaildar, did not go to the spot, but the other three found some beef and blood in the house of a Kashmiri and reported the matter to the Committee. Inspector Faiz Bakhsh of the Gujrat Police then proceeded to make enquiries into the matter. The Hindus at last went to seek justice at the hands of the District Magistrate.

The *Singh Sahai* (Amritsar), dated 2nd March 1892, pub-

lished a communication in which the writer stated that the religious feelings of the Hindus at Batala were being wounded by the sale of beef in the town, that the public was under the impression that this was being done at the instance of the tahsildar of Batala without the knowledge of the Deputy Commissioner, and that the hides of the animals killed were openly carried from the slaughter-house through the streets past the Hindu wells.

The same paper in its news columns stated that a disturbance was likely to occur in Batala owing to the sale of beef.

The District Superintendent of Police, Jhelum, in his confidential diary dated 5th March 1892, stated that a report from Pind Dadan Khan had been received to the effect that the Hindus of that town had collected Rs. 400, and intended to appeal against the order of the Deputy Commissioner about the site of the "*Jhatka* khana;" that they had appointed Diwan Singh as their agent. About 40 Muhammadans, headed by Pira and Fazal, Khojas, and Imam Din, petition-writer, were said to have assembled at the house of Jan Muhammad to arrange measures for opposing them.

On the 26th March 1892 it was reported that the Hindus and Muhammadans of Pind Dadan Khan had made up their quarrel on the condition that the beef butchers were to have nothing to do with selling mutton, & c.

On the 30th April 1892 it was said that the Hindus and Muhammadans had fallen out at Anandpur. The origin of the ill-feeling was the introduction of beef into the town by the Muhammadans. The offending parties were sent up for trial under Section 290, Criminal Procedure Code, and Section 50, Act IV of 1872, but were discharged. The Muhammadans then further aggravated the Hindus by petitioning the Deputy Commissioner to sanction a slaughter-house in the town. The Hindus retaliated by boycotting the Muhammad-

ans from their wells and bazars, or threatening to do so.

On the 21st May 1892, the friction at Anandpur between the Hindus and Muhammadans was said to be increasing.

The circumstances of the Anandpur case as reported by the Deputy Commissinoner were as follows:–

A Mussalman purchased some beef in Rupar and brought it to Anandpur for his own consumption. The octroi peon discovered it when it was passing the barrier. The Hindus attempted to prosecute the importer under the Penal Code, but failed. The Muhammadans, however, were somewhat incensed and gave out that they were going to establish a slaughter-house and a butcher's shop in Anandpur. Accordingly they petitioned for permission to do this. This petition the Deputy Commisioner promptly rejected, as Anandpur is specially a Hindu, or rather Sikh, head-quarters and cattle-killing would not have been tolerated by the Hindu inhabitants. Moreover, the Muhammadans were an uninfluential lot – mostly *julahas*. Before the matter was settled, however, the Hindus, adopted retaliatory measures. They refused to have dealings with the Mussalmans. They, so far as they could, prevented the latter taking water from Hindu wells, and they talked of evicting the Muhammadans from their dwellings. In connection with this matter it was also stated that the Maharaja of Patiala had had some difficulty in restraining his Nihangs from rushing off to Anandpur.

About the middle of the month Maulvi Gauhar Ali lectured against the Arya sect in the Anarkali Bazar. He said that according to the Hindu religion it was right to eat cow's flesh. Some Hindus present expressed their indignation, but no disturbance occurred. The Maulvi had previously published a pamphlet in which he declared that beef was the best eating meat and that Hindus eat it.

On the 28th May Hazari Mal, Bhabra, of Delhi, arrived at

Sialkot to collect money for establishing gaushalas. The Bhabras of Sialkot promised to raise Rs. 400 for him.

The *Bharat Sudhar* (Lahore), dated 9th July 1892, published a poem with a view to proving that the present state of the country, the prevalence of cholera and the scarcity of food-grains were due to kine-slaughter.

At Rohtak the Id festival passed off quietly. No cows were allowed to be sacrificed within the city. Two places were appointed for this purpose outside. In consequences of this order the greater part of the Muhammadans, refused to sacrifice anything.

The *Taj-ul-Akhbar* (Rawalpindi), in its issue dated 23rd July 1892, remarked that in some of its back numbers it had complained against the sale of cooked beef at railway stations, on the ground that this sale injured the feelings of the Hindu passengers; but that no notice seemed to have been taken of the matter. The *Akhbar* regretted to hear that cooked beef was still sold at the Rawalpindi Station with the permission of the Doctor, and remarked that seeing that it hurt the religious susceptibilities of the Hindus the sale should be put a stop to.

Towards the end of July it was stated that the Muhammadans of Rohtak were collecting subscriptions to complain against the Deputy Commissioner for not allowing them to kill cows inside the city at the Id.

They also proposed to have no *Tazias* on account of no cows being killed in the city. The Muharram, however, passed off quietly.

On the 20th August the District Superintendent of Police, Umballa, reported that the Jagirdars of Kaliana, Nahar Murza, Ram Nagar and Bokhar Murza had determined to file petitions in the Honorary Magistrates' Courts in order to prevent kine-killing during the Id festivals.

During September a case in which certain Muhammad-

ans of the Jind State were accused of slaughtering cattle caused some excitement, and the Council of Regency were accused of having resorted to torture in order to extort evidence. Government was pressed by the Native papers to hold an independent enquiry into the matter; the case formed a frequent subject of comment in the vernacular press, and the *Paisa Akhbar* vernacular newspaper was accused by one of its contemporaries, the *Taj-ul-Akhbar*, of endeavouring to cause dissension between the Hindus and Muhammadans.

On the 8th October the District Superintendent of Police, Karnal, reported that owing to certain influential men having been imprisoned in Jind a bad feeling was creeping into the Karnal district between the two sects, as both parties were doing their best for mastery; that Patiala being on the border there was a good deal of bad feeling, and it was gradually spreading into Karnal.

On the 15th October 1893 the District Superintendent of Police, Delhi, reported that the gaushala established in Katra Ashrafi appeared to be getting on ; that there were 30 animals, and four servants employed to look after them, the Marwaris paying the expenses.

On the 22nd October the Assistant District Superintendent of Police at Pind Dadan Khan reported that a good deal of ill-feeling existed between Hindus and Muhammadans at Pind Dadan Khan. The two parties, however, shortly afterwards settled the matter of dispute amicably between themselves.

On the 29th October it was reported from Delhi that, owing to the recent action of the Jind authorities in the matter of kine-slaughter, 15 families had left that territory, and taken up their residence in Badli, Rohtak district.

On the 12th November the District Superintendent of Police, Rohtak, was informed that the butcher (*kasai*) commu-

nity at Rohtak intended submitting a petition to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor regarding the interdiction of sacrifices inside the city during the Id, and that Hamda, one of the leading members, had engaged three seats in Moti Ram's Dak under the name of Nathu Singh and had left with two companions for Delhi to petition His Honour, but was advised by a Pleader not to do so and to return to Rohtak.

It was stated from Delhi that the Marwaris were about to establish a gaushala in a village near Delhi, that some land had been purchased for Rs. 1,100 from Asa Mali.

During November the Hindus of Bhiwani, Hissar district, tried to get up some ill-feeling in the matter of cow-killing. One Ganeshi Lal, a teacher in a Hindu school, sent a telegram to His Honour the Lieutenant Governor on the 18th November at Kalanaur complaining of the ill-treatment of a Brahmini bull and requesting a private audience. The case was made over to the Deputy Commissioner for disposal.

The *Himala* (Rawalpindi), of the 18th November 1892, published a communication in which the writer remarked that those Hindu papers which published advertisements regarding the sale of beef were equal to butchers, as they assisted in the sale of beef and came under the category of the eighth kind of butchers mentioned by Manu.

The Editor, commenting on the above, remarked that this question was raised some time back, but that no explanation was given by Hindu papers. The *Himala*, however, hoped that, the question being an important one, the Hindu papers, and especially those which were in the habit of publishing such advertisements, would give a satisfactory explanation on the present occasion.

The *Wafadar* (Lahore), of the 22nd November 1892, remarked that the orders passed in the Jind kine-slaughter case had alarmed the Muhammadan subjects of the State, and called

upon the Government to send for and peruse the records of the case.

On the 26th November the Assistant District Superintendent of Police at Pind Dadan Khan again reported some excitement in the town in consquence of the slaughtering of a cow which, however, subsided immediately. One Fattah Pauli had slaughtered the cow and carried the meat about for sale. He was sent up before the Sub-Divisional Magistrate and punished, and the matter ended.

The *Dost-i-Hind* (Bhera), dated 16th December 1892, published a communication in which the writer said that in the Sadr Bazar at Nowshera (Peshawar) a bigoted *nanbai* (baker) used to sell beef. This gave great offence to the Hindus, who being powerless kept quiet; but the matter having been brought to the notice of the authorities, the baker was expelled from the bazar. Some days after a boatman named Kalu sold a cow to a butcher. The cow being ill fell down near the school and the bazar. Thereupon Kalu and the butcher killed the cow on the spot. The Hospital Assistant, though a Muhammadan, reported the matter to the tahsil, and both Kalu and the butcher were fined Rs. 15 each, and the beef was sold to the people. The writer ascribed the increase of sickness to the sale of the meat of diseased animals.

The *Himala*, (Rawalpindi), dated 23rd December 1892, reproduced from the *Anis-i-Hind* (Meerut), a complaint to the effect that the chaukidars and lambardars of villages situated in the vicinity of the Gujrat City practised great opression on the people by slaughtering kine and selling beef near the houses of the Hindus. If the Hindus remonstrated the Muhammadans threatened to beat them.

[Confidential]

1893

389. In January 1893 Rangi Khan, Jamadar of Chaukidars of Dharmkot Randhawa, Dera Nanak, reported "that Bura and Baga, sons of Mokam, and Imamdin, Kashmiris, and Nabo and Bassa, Kakkezais, were in the habit of slaughtering cattle inside their houses at night in order to sell beef to the Muhammadan community; that Mulla Ibrahim and Samdu, Kashmiri, were the men engaged to kill the animals; and that the Hindus were grumbling, and if action were not taken, the probability was that there would be a disturbance.

390. Later on the Deputy Inspector of Police, Dera Nanak, reported that the information given by Rangi Khan, Jamadar of Chaukidars, that cattle were slaughtered by certain Muhammadans of Dharmkot Randhawa in their dwellings, was quite true; but that the Muhammadans had held a meeting and had given a written promise that they would not act in such a manner again; that this proceeding had pleased and satisfied the Hindus, and there was no further reason to anticipate any trouble.

391. The Deputy Inspector of Police, Kalanaur, Gurdaspur district, reported that the butchers of Kalanaur were in the habit of slaughtering cattle in the shambles, but carried the carcasses for sale from village to village. On the 18th January two butchers carried beef laden on a donkey into the village of Kila Natha Singh, the proprietary village of Mahant Manohar Das, the present Gadi Nashin of the Sikh Temple at Dera Nanak. The Hindus were much exercised, but before the Mahant's local representative could do anything, the butcher had moved on.

With reference to the above, the Deputy Inspector reported that he visited the shambles at Kalanaur and found ten shops, each with a carcass, and two animals in the act of being slaugh-

tered. From enquiry on the spot he ascertained that the butchers went about from village to vilage selling beef laden on donkeys and ponies and travelled over a radius of twenty miles; and that besides the butchers there were several personse who made a living by purchasing beef at the shambles at wholesale rates and retailing it by hawking it from village to village.

392. From Narot in the same district it was reported that the Muhammadans in the village of Jhela were said to slaughter cattle occasionally in their homes on the quiet.

393. The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 16th January 1893, stated that strenuous efforts were being made at Jind and Sangrur to throw obstacles in the way of the Government enquiry. Subscriptions were being collected and emmissaries sent to Extra Assistant Commissioners, &c., to use their influence with the authorities. The office bearers of a certain Religious and National Association were being asked to act in the same way. Efforts were also being made to win over an influential Anglo-Indian paper to the side of the State officials.

394. The *Aftab-i-Punjab* (Lahore), dated 6th February 1893, published a communication in which the writer complained that the slaughter-house at Umballa being situated near the Cantonment Station, the Hindu passsengers had to shut their eyes when the train passed. The writer suggested that the slaughter-house should be removed from its present site to some other locality.

395. Pandit Jagat Narain of Benares visited Amritsar early in February 1893 and gave a lecture in the Golden Temple in honor of the cow. It was reported that he intended opening a gaushala in the city for keeping cows, and had asked for subscriptions. He was believed to have some connection with the National Congress.

396. At Amritsar, Nathu Mal, Khatri of the city, brought a Muhammadan named Maula Bakhsh, a butcher, to the Kotwali and complained that he brought some beef to Rusla Kashmiri's house in a cloth, and began weighing it there, where Nathu Mal and other Hindus saw him. The meat was brought concealed in a cloth through the bazar. Inspector Sandhi Khan, in consultation with Rai Khushal Singh, Extra Assistant Commissioner, did not allow the matter to go any further.

397. A meeting of the Vegetarian Society was held in the Lahore city in February. Some forty persons were present. A lecture was given against eating meat, and a motion brought forward to establish a *chanda* for the preservation and maintenence of cows.

398. In March Jagat Narain, Brahmin, was still in Amritsar, doing his utmost to arrange for a gaushala.

399. The *Sanatan Dharm Gazette* (Sialkot), of the 20th March 1893, published a communication in which the writer remarked that as Government had done nothing in the way of kine preservation, for it countenanced the practice of kine-slaughter for the sake of supplying beef to its European soldiers, the Hindus should form committees in each district and town, and buy grass preserves for feeding cows by raising subscriptions among themselves. The writer considered that if the Hindus wished to gain this object, they should rely solely on their own unaided efforts.

400. The District Superintendent of Police, Delhi, reported that Ganga Ram, a well-to-do banker at Meerut, had announced his willingness to assist his friends in Delhi in purchasing cows in Delhi at the time of the Id.

401. The *Nusrat-ul-Akhbar* (Delhi), of the 14th May 1893, stated that, according to an English paper, the blood of bullocks was used in refining sugar. The Editor believed that the

sugar prepared at Shahjahanpur was not refined with blood, but called upon the proprietors of the sugar works to explain the matter and re-assure the Hindu public.

402. A gaushala for the protection of stray cattle was reported in May to have been started at Phagwara in the Kapurthala State. It was said to contain about 13 head of cattle. For its up-keep a sum of Rs. 600 had been subscribed, and the interest on this sum was to go towards the keep of a man to look after and feed the cattle. The Tahsildar, Station Master, and other Hindus of Phagwara appeared to take an interest in the matter.

403. Jagat Narain, Brahmin, of Benares, held a meeting in the dharmsala of Mehar Das, Killa Bhangian, on the 24th May, at which about 250 persons assembled. They discussed ways and means of raising funds to start the gaushala. One Sundar Singh, a Veterinary Assistant, suggested a tax to be levied on the income of each individual, but nothing definite was settled.

404. The *Siraj-ul Akhbar* (Jhelum), of the 29th May 1893, published a communication in which the writer, a Muhammadan, endeavoured to show that the slaughter of kine in India was doing a great deal of harm to the people, seeing that it had raised the price of milk and ghi. The writer called upon Government to put a stop to the practice.

405. The *Nanak Parkash* (Kapurthala), for the month of May 1893, published an article with a view to showing that the cow was a very useful animal, and that the rise in the price of ghi was due to the practice of kine-slaughter. The Editor urged that steps should be taken towards the preservation of kine in India.

406. Lalu, Rajput, of the Jind State visited Simla in June to petition the Lieutenant-Governor regarding the imprisonment of 18 Muhammadans who had slaughtered a cow in a vllage

in the Jind State on the occasion of the Id festival.

407. The *People's Journal* (Lahore), in its issue of the 10th June 1893, published an article headed "The Cow Protection Movement Again," and refrerred to a series of lectures delivered by Sriman Swami in Lower Bengal with a view to enlisting the sympathy of the Muhammadans and Christians in connection with the preservation of kine.

408. Ramazan, a butcher, of Rohtak, arrived in Simla on the 21st June. He gave out that he had come to petition His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor regarding cow-killing case, which was decided against him.

409. On the 24th and 25th June 1893, in the Landa Bazar at Lahore, Bhai Harnam Singh of Batala, Gurdaspur district, was observed reading and selling to the people a book on the disadvantages of kine-killing. He remarked that the slaughter of kine amounted to oppression.

410. Towards the end of June Abdul Rahim, a low caste Muhammadan, living in the Sadr Bazar, Ferozpur Cantonment, who had before given some trouble about the Id time, again gave out that he intended proceeding to village Zira (his village) and celebrating the Id by slaughtering cows. The District Superintendent of Police had the man up, and he then stated that he had no intention of doing anything of the kind until such time as he received a reply from the Imperial Government to a memorial he had submitted.

411. The *Dost-i-Hind* (Bhera), of the 7th July 1893, published a communication from Nowshera in which the writer stated that on the Id a cow was killed near the shops of the Hindus, who had bitterly complained of this outrage.

412. The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore) dated 20th July 1893, stated that the *Pioneer* had published a series of articles in connection with the ill-feeling prevailing between the Hindus and Muhmmadans in regard to the kine-killing question. There

could be no doubt that the slaughter of cattle in the presence of Hindus injured their religious feelings. On the other hand, it was equally true that the Muhammadans were fond of beef, and considered it their religious duty to kill cattle as sacrifices. This being the case, it was not easy to understand how a neutral Government like the British could deprive one class of its religious liberty for the sake of the other. However, considering the question apart from a religious point of view, the preservation of kine was beneficial to Hindus, Muhammdans, Christians and other communities alike.

413. The District Superintendent of Police, Rawalpindi, reported in July that religious antagonism between Hindus and Muhammadans in the city had increased considerably, the bone of contention being the starting of a butcher's shop for goat's flesh and mutton.

The facts were briefly as follows :-

A respectable Khoja, named Nabbi Bakhsh, who was also an Honorary Magistrate in the city, had purchased a house in the "Kassaba Bazaar," or Butchers' street, some years back from a prostitute. This street contains a number of prostitutes' houses and butchers' shops. In 1891 Nabbi Bakhsh wished to start a goat and mutton butcher's shop in this building , but on the Hindus objecting, the matter was referred to the Deputy Commissioner for settlement, who, the District Superintendent of Police believes, suggested that the Hindus should rent the building, and thus prevent its use as a butcher's shop and so the matter was amicably settled it was thought. The Hindus, however, did not rent the building, and Nabbi Bakhsh, after consulting Mr. Inayatulla, Barrister, obtained permission to open a butcher's shop in the building. The Hindus immediately complained and protested against this, and orders were again issued to close the shop. The result of this was that party-feeling and religious antagonism had made

rapid strides, and both parties were determined to gain their points.

The Muhammadans urged that the opening of a goat and mutton butcher's shop was not calculated to offend the religious feelings of the Hindus; the Hindus, on the other hand, stated that they had a *dharmsala* opposite, and a butcher's shop would be objectionable: rumours were afloat that if the Muhammadans did open a butcher's shop the Hindus would open *jhatka* shops near the masjids, and the Muhammadans would retaliate by opening out beef shops all over the city.

The facts, as far as District Superintendent of Police was able to ascertain, were Nabbi Bakhsh with a very large following of Muhammadans on one side, and Mittha, son of Khazana, Khatri; Lakhu, son of Ganga, Bhagat; and a large following of Hindus on the other. Mr. Inayatulla, Barrister, was adviser and counsel for the Muhammadans, and Hans Raj, Pleader, adviser and counsel for the Hindus. The Deputy Commissioner remarked that the case was one of long-standing and that there was no danger of a riot.

414. The *Umballa Gazette* (Umballa), dated 25th July 1893, endeavoured to show that the Muhammadans killed cattle with the sole object of injuring the religious feeling of the Hindus, and advised the former to abstain from practising kine-slaughter, and to make peace with the Hindus in order to put an end to the religious disputes between the two communities. The preservation of cattle, the Editor remarked, was beneficial to a country where agriculture, the chief industry of the people, was carried on with the help the bovine species.

415. The *Koh-i-Nur* (Lahore), dated 29th July 1893, writing on the same subject, enumerated the advantages which would accrue from the preservation of cattle, and expressed regret that the Government should allow the destruction of such

useful animals, the want of which was the cause of the frequent visitations of famine. Both the Hindus and Muhammadans were generally in favour of kine-protection, but some short-sighted Muhammadans killed cattle to wound the religious feelings of the Hindus, although the slaughter of cows for purposes of sacrifice was not obligatory. The Editor appealed to the Government and the leading members of the Muhammadan community to adopt measures for the protection of kine.

416. The *Nanak Parkash* (Kapurthala), for July 1893, remarked that the preservation of kine was enjoined on the Hindus as a religious duty, and advised every Hindu to perform this duty, as the cow was more useful to man than any other animal.

417. It was reported from Jagadhri during July that the Hindu community had collected subscriptions amounting to Rs. 3,000 for legal expenses connected with the attempt they intended making to put a stop to cow-slaughter on the occasion of the Id-ul-Zuha at Jagadhri. Ramchara, late Patwari, and Chajju, formerly an *arzinawis*, were the promoters.

418. The *Be-Misal Punch* (Delhi), dated 1st August 1893, regretted that religious riots between Hindus and Muhammadans were becoming frequent, and remarked that the more the Hindus and Cow Protection Societies tried to preserve cattle with the object of depriving the Muhammadans of their religious liberty, the more the latter would kill kine for the purpose of sacrifice.

419. In August the District Superintendent of Police, Karnal, reported that bad feeling existed between the Hindus and Muhammadans of village Patti Kalliana, and that it was spreading owing to the cow-killing question and the keeping of pigs.

420. About the same time it was stated that Dip Chand, Moti Ram, Marwaris, Manu Lal, cloth merchant, Karm Chand, baniah, and others had collected money to build a gaushala

in the Delhi city in the neighbourhood of the Kashmir Gate.

421. The *Singh Sahai* (Amritsar), dated 7th August 1893, remarked that it was sorry to find that severe sentences had been passed on several Hindus in connection with the kine-slaughter question, but was unable to agree with the *Akhbar-i-Am* that a Muhammadan had as good a right to slaughter a cow as a Hindus had to worship it. If this view were correct, then every one would be at liberty to kill his son or commit suicide. In the same manner if a man purchased a *Quran* or a *Bible* and burnt it or trampled it under foot, or disgraced a church after building it at his own expense, he would commit no offence. The Editor added that the Government was greatly mistaken in being indifferent to the kine-slaughter question and doing nothing to prevent the wounding of the feelings of Hindus. Government was in fact encouraging the Muhammadans because the Europeans also eat beef, and it was for this reason that no justice was done to Hindus.

422. The *Gham Khwar-i-Hind* (Lahore), dated 12th August 1893, referring to a long article published in the *Pioneer* of 9th July 1893 regarding the cow-killing riots in the Azamgarh district, stated that with the increase in the number of Cow Protection Societies not only were religious riots becoming more and more frequent, but an unnecessary number of cattle were killed. In other words, these societies instead of doing anything for the protection of kine had resulted in intensifying the ill-feeling between the Hindus and Muhammadans. As regards the prohibition against kine-slaughter, the *Gham Khwar-i-Hind* remarked that so long as beef formed a part of the food of Europeans it was absurd to expect that kine-slaughter would be put a stop to. The Editor condemned the action of the Hindus in resorting to violence for the purpose of preventing Muhammadans from practising kine-slaughter and remarked that the best plan for the Hindus would be to be-

come reconciled with the Mussalmans and to inpress on them in a friendly way that the destruction of cattle had injured the prosperity of the country; that the preservation of the cow was beneficial to India as was evident from the fact that the Moghal Emperors Akbar, Jahangir and Aurangzeb passed orders in their respective reigns prohibiting the killing of cattle for a specified period.

423. The *Singh Sahai* (Amritsar), of the 16th August 1893, published the substance of the Circular issued by the North-Western Provinces Government to District Officers in connection with the cow-killing riots.

424. The *Nur Afshan* (Ludhiana), of the 18th August 1893, noticed the very sound advice given to the Hindus and Muhammadans by the Lieutenant-Governor, Bengal, in connection with the cow-killing riots.

425. On the 19th August it was reported that the ill-feeling between Hindus and Muhammadans referred to in paragraph 419 had abated at Patti Kallinana, but still existed at Sewin and Sikri. Cow-killing and building of the masjid and *azan* crying were said to be the cause of ill-feeling and dispute.

426. The *Taj-ul-Akhbar* (Rawalpindi), of the 19th August 1893, condemned the establishment of a Cow Protection Society at Jummoo on the ground that the State was already doing a good deal for the preservation of kine, which were held in high esteem in Kashmir. The establishment of a Cow Protection Society though harmless in itself might at some future period lead to serious consequences and add to the difficulties of the State.

427. The *Victoria Paper* (Sialkot), of the 28th August 1893, remarked that the religious riots which had occurred at Rangoon, Azamgarh and Ballia, &c., were a great disaster to the country. That these tumults had alienated the Mussalmans and Hindus and should serve as a warning for the future.

That it was certainly laid down in the *Shastras* that the Hindus should worship the cow and improve the breed, but that it was nowhere stated that they were fight with any one who was performing a religious rite according to his own faith. On the other hand, the Muhammadans were enjoined to preserve their religious principles and to perform religious ceremonies without hurting the feelings of others. No more riots would occur in the country if both parties were to act according to the principles laid down by their respective religions, wherein no signs of prejudice were to be found.

428. The *Lahore Punch*, of the 30th August 1893, published a cartoon in which the cow was depicted as entreating Hindus and Muhammadans not to kill each other for her sake, but to live in peace.

429. A Muhammadan corresepondent, writing to the *Sada-i-Hind* (Lahore), dated 31st August 1893, regretted that riots should have taken place at many places in India in consquence of kine-slaughter. As these riots had ruined both the Hindus and Muhammadans, it behoved the two parties to come to an understanding and to be reconciled to each other. Ignorant persons of both communities were the cause of the ill-felling. It was not obligatory on the Muhammadans to kill cows on the Id festival for purposes of sacrifice, and this being the case it was not advisable for them to injure the feelings of their Hindu fellow-subjects by slaughtering kine, which were very useful in India. The Hindus should, on the other hand, abstain from troubling the Muhammadans and bringing them into discredit. Most of the Hindus considered it a sin to associate with Muhammadans and tried to injure them in every way they could. Thousands of cows were slaughtered every day for the European soldiers, and the Hindus did not take exception to it. It therefore mattered little if the Muhammadans also killed cows as a religious duty on the Id festival.

430. The *Singh Sahai* (Amritsar), of the 31st August 1893, stated that the article on cow-killing which appeared in its issue of the 7th August 1893 was published merely to rebut the wrong opinon formed by the *Akhbar-i-Am*, and certain words inserted therein were intended as examples and not in any way to insult the *Quran* and *Bible*. As some of the friends of the *Singh Sahai* had, however, advised the Editor that it was improper to use words which would insult the fellings of persons of another religion or their books, and as the Gorakhpur paper had invited attention to the article in question, the Editor announced his regret and thanked his friends and his contemporary for pointing out his error. The *Quran* and *Bible* were as sacred as the Hindu's religious books. It was unbecoming to insult such books, all of which equally taught the way to worship the one Almighty God. They were certainly considered worth worshipping, and he who insulted them insulted the Great God.

As it was presumed that the article in question had given offence to the Muhammadan community, the Editor tendered his apology and withdrew the whole of the article.

431. Early in September 1893 the District Superintendent of Police, Ludhiana, reported the formation of a Gaurakhshani Sabha, and that Rs. 2,000 had been collected in Jagraon and Rs. 5,000 from other parts of Ludhiana, which had been banked with Balmokand, Sahukar. One Jugal Kishore, late Sub-Judge of Rohtak, who was said to have been concerned in some disturbances there, was mixed up in the matter. The following persons were appointed as the Committee of the Gaurakshani Sabha with power to dispose of the fund: Lalas Kishori Lal and Mahtab Rai, Shibhu Mal, Sawan Mal, Dina, Wasdeo, son of Lalu Mal, Kirpal, Daroga and Umra Singh.

The ostensible object of the society was to purchase weak and sickly cows to save them from sacrifice; to purchase a

plot of waste land on which to let at large these cows. It was said that the money was not likely to be expended on this object. Babu Shiv Saran Das was also charged to submit a petition to Government asking for aid on behalf of the objects of the society.

132. The *Vakili-Bewagan-i-Hind* (Delhi), dated 7th September 1893, stated on the authority of the *Bombay Samachar Gujrati*, dated 16th August 1893, and the *Gujrati Akhbar Aslam*, dated 20th August 1893, that a Brahmin of Surat had had unnatural intercourse with a cow and was arrested for the offence. The Editor remarked that the Hindus pretended to have geat respect for the cow simply to vent their spleen against the Muhammadans, but that in reality they had no regard for the animal, as was evident from the case cited above.

433. The *Wafadar Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 8th September 1893, published a communication in which the writer, referring to the riots which had occured in various parts of India, thanked God that the Punjab had enjoyed perfect immunity from such disturbances. The Editor attributed these outbreaks to the ignorance and bigotry of the illiterate masses, and, though himself a Muhammadan, did not hesitate to say that his ignorant co-religionists were very much to blame. In the first place it was not a religious duty on the part of the Muhammadans to scrifice cows on the occasion of the Id. What was incumbent on them was to sacrifice a ram or a camel. Secondly, though according to the Muhammadan religion it was lawful to eat beef, yet the sacrifice of cows was declared to be a sinful act. Thirdly, since the sacrifice of cows was not essential, and was calculated to offend the feelings of their old neighbours, the Hindus, it was desirable in the interest of peace and order that the Muhammadans should forego the practice. The Hindus too were not free from blame. They call the Muhammad-

ans *malechhas* (i.e., polluted) without any reason, and some of them were so bigoted that they considered it a sin to speak to a Muhammadan, and regarded it as an act of merit to offend the Mussalman.

434. With reference to para 431 above, the District Superintendent of Police, Ludhiana, reported that he had made enquiries at Jagraon regarding the contribution of Rs. 2,000 to the gaurakhsha movement. The amount was the sum named or thereabouts, and was raised by Lala Ram Pershad, Beri, aided by Kishan Gopal, Mukhtar, and Daulat Ram, Brahmin. It was subscribed by well-to-do baniahs and khattris. The object of the collections was well known at Jagraon to be to form a defence fund. That Ram Pershad, Beri, was a man of some local influence. He was in correspondence with members of the National Congress party, and it was his intention to be present at Lahore at the meeting of the Congress in December. On the 9th September it was reported that the jewellers were collecting money to build a gaushala at Jaisinghpura just beyond Paharganj. Another establishment of the same kind was being built at Serai Rohilla Khan in the Delhi district.

435. The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), dated 14th September 1893, remarked that it was an admitted fact that the Hindus, including the Sikhs, held the cow in great veneration and looked upon the animal as an object of worship. This being the case, the Government should exercise great caution when deciding questions regarding the slaughter of that animal.

436. On the 14th September 1893 it was reported in the city of Ludhiana that the previous evening Ghulam Rasul, Kashmiri, residing in the Huzuri Sharak, having purchased some salt at the Ghalla Mandi, was returning home carrying it in a package when he was set upon in the Chaura Bazar by Achhru and other baniahs and Hindus who asked him it was

carrying beef. On finding that it was rock salt he had with him, they allowed him to pass.

437. On the 16th of the same month Abu, a student, was taking some beef wrapped in a cloth from the old Cantonments, Ludhiana, to his house in the city, and was stopped near the chaubara of Ghaus Ali Shah by a number of Mahajans in the Mali Ganj Bazar. The Mahajans threatened him, but the boy escaped from them and ran home. The boy's master, Mujanji Afzal, was summoned to the Kotwali by Deputy Inspector Karm Bakhsh, and on being asked, confirmed the report.

438. On the 22nd September 1893 Motsaddi, a butcher, of Jullundur, brought a cow from the district, and on coming into the city, was stopped by a Brahmin named Jaimal, at one time a Sub-Postmaster. On being told that the cow was brought in to be killed, the Brahmin purchased it for Rs. 3-4-0.

439. On the evening of the 25th September 1893 some excitement was caused in the city of Amritsar owing to a Muhammadan boy having accidentally wounded a calf. The matter however was quietly settled by the District Superintendent of Police and Mr. Nicholl, Secretary to the Municipality.

440. The arrival was reported at Lahore on the 1st October 1893 of Swami Ala Ram from Delhi. He lectured on the 2nd on the Sanatan Dharm sect and condemned cow-killing.

441. It is rumoured in Delhi that a gaushala was to be started in Sonepat. Lala Banarsi Das had taken up the matter, and Singh Ram, Zaildar, who was acquitted on appeal by the Chief Court in the Halalpur murder case, was reported to have given Rs. 1,500.

442. On the 7th October Pir Bakhsh, son of Kamma, Jhinwar, complained that the previous day he had made some purchases in the Chaura Bazar, Ludhiana, and when he got into the Lalu Mal Galli one Achhru, Baniah, and a Brahman

stopped him and demanded to see what was in his bundle. When satisfied that it was not beef, they allowed him to pass.

443. The *Wafadar* (Lahore), of the 8th October 1893, published a communication headed "Cow-protection and Cow-slaughter," in which the writer traced the origin of the theory of cow-protection, and showed how it became part and parcel of Hinduism. He said that the idea of kine-preservation was first introduced into India by wise Brahmins on their return from Egypt. These far-seeing men, finding the animal a very useful one, enjoined cow-worship upon the Hindus in order to ensure its preservation. The result was that gradually the Hindus came to regard the cow as a means towards their salvation, and it was for this reason that the slaughter of the animal outraged their feelings.

444. In November 1893 the District Superintendent of Police, Delhi, forwarded two pamphlets, one printed in Delhi for the use of the Sonepat Gaurakhshani Sabha, the other in Nagri, which had been brought from Bareilly by Pandit Dharm Sahai and made over for sale to the *Kaisar-i-Hind* Press. The first was a pamphlet in verse in praise of the cow published by Pandit Din Dyal for use of the Cow Protection Society of Sonepat. It had been printed at the *Kaisar-i-Hind* Press, Delhi. The author stated that it was the duty of every Hindu to protect and show reverence to the cow, which furnished milk, curds and ghee; sweetmeats were also made from these articles. The cow was slaughtered by the butchers. This injustice was unbecoming. Before cows were sacrificed, ghee was sold at 4 seers per rupee, oil at 10 seers and gur at 24 seers, but these articles had become dearer since cows began to be slaughtered. The cow was the godmother of the Hindus. Sheds for its protection had been erected. The Hindus should assist with body, mind and money. The twenty crore of Hindus in India should join together and protect the cow.

Why did the Brahmins, Khatris, Vesh and baniahs withhold themselves from such a work of religious merit. Sins were forgiven by seeing the cow, and blessings were obtained by serving it. The Hindus spent money in ornaments, fireworks and dances, and thus caused cows to be slaughtered. Old cows should not be parted with as they eventually reached the butchers' hands and were killed. The Hindus should bear this in mind. Most of the Muhammadans, Christians and Jews dreaded the killing of cows. The protection of the cow was enjoined in the *Quran*. Old cows were sometimes given as alms to the Brahmins at marriage festivals and by them sold to the Muhammadans, who purchased them in the guise of Banjaras. Old oxen were turned loose and no food was given to them. Hindus should subscribe liberally towards the cow protection movement. Some Hindus gave thousands of rupees to prostitutes (dancing girls), but hesitated to give a pice towards the protection of the cow. Gaushalas (cow sheds) should be opened. There was no better plan than this to preserve the cow. This was not the time to fight. Give one pice in aid of the gaushalas. This was a religious act. The twenty crore of Hindus should construct gaushalas in India and should buy old and worn out cows, which would be tended in these sheds.The second pamphlet was in the Nagri character and bore the title of *Gauban Patrika* (supplication of the cow). It was printed at the Rashak-i-Kanshi press, Delhi, in July 1890, by Babu Ram Chand with the permision of Seth Mohan Lal, Secretary, Gaurakhshani Sabha, Hardwar. The cow was represented as entreating the Hindus to save her from being sacrificed by the Muhammadans, and calling upon the Hindus to establish sheds for her protection and preservation. Subscriptions were invited for this purpose.

445. From Delhi it was reported that Luchmi Narain and Pana Lal, Marwaris, had remitted Rs. 150 for the expenses of the

gaushala at Rewari.

446. The Deputy Inspector, Shahpur, reported in December that at the instance of Sharadu, Lambardar of village Gujranwala, the mochis, mirasis and fakirs had slaughtered kine near the Hindus' quarters.The persons reporting the matter were referred to the Court.

447. The Deputy Inspector of Gurdaspur reported that he had heard that the butchers had complained that the baniahs had boycotted them and declined to sell them provisions, and that their petition had been made over to the tahsildar for enquiry.

448. On the 20th December 1893 Jot Ram, Mahajan, of Beri, Rohtak district, went to Harbans Lal, "Siah Navis," Tahsil Jhajjar, to ask him to raise subscription for a gaushala which was being started at Beri. Mutsadi Lal, Ajudhia Parshad and Mangat Rai, Mahajans of Beri, gave some land for this purpose.

Note by J. R. Drummond, Deputy Commissioner, Gurgaon

Dated 13 December 1893

It can hardly be said positively that the movement lately in progress in certain other parts of India in connexion with the above have spread directly under the auspices of the societies established in Bombay and in parts of the North-Western Provinces to the Gurgaon District.

Nor can it be said that the tenets involved in the propaganda in question have been preached through general sectarian or class societies such as the Sanatan Dharam, or the Arya Samaj, or the local Bhargara Sabha.

Nevertheless there are signs that a propaganda is at work throughout the district; and there has been agitation, and organization of a sort also, directed against kine-killing going on more or less openly for some years past.

This agitation has extended and intensified during the last two years.

It has proved inimical to the public peace in different ways and at different places, and has caused a little trouble, but not much, to the District authorities.

So long as the District Officer in Gurgaon has local knowledge and influence, and is supported as I have been by Lieutenant Dennys and Mr. Hamilton in the working of the Po-

lice, there is nothing immediately dangerous in the local movements. No disturbances except of the pettiest kind could well occur, and if any local squabble, or even an affray, took place, it is unlikely that it would attract much attention, or breed any further consequences at the time at all events. Still what is going on is most decidedly mischievous, and is bound to swell, more or less, the sum of popular discontent and unrest which I have already reported, with profound regret, to be observable in this section of the Hindustani portion of the Province.

There does not seem to be any avowed Gaurakhshani Sabha in this district; but there are special reasons why the style of such organisations should be avoided here, even if the organization is quietly at work.

These movements, even if they do not originate with our own officials, can seldom make any head without their countenance. Now in 1884 when Babu Parma Nand, who was then Accountant of the Simla Treasury, and is an Oudh Brahman of the Bajpai class, took a prominent part in starting a Gaurakhshani Sabha in Kalka and other place near, his conduct came under official notice, as his propagaudist zeal interfered with his efficiency as a clerk; and the action taken in his case by Colonel Beadon was made known in Karnal and Gurgaon by persons who maintained correspondence from Simla with subordinates, Pleaders and the like in the districts mentioned.

Accordingly, when about 1885 a Cow Protection Society was started in Rewari with branches at Bharawas and other villages, Lal Singh, Ahir, Honorary Magistrate, Ramgopal, Saraogi (Muncipal Commissioner), Pirbhudiyal, Dhusar (a local Pleader), and others who were mixed up in its institution, avoided the appearance of such a society, but set on foot what was nominally a refuge for disabled cattle (Gausala),

which is still in operation.

Their proceedings, however, have on several occasions led them into collision with Muhammadans, especially with butchers, and even, in Mr. Maçonachie's time, with the authorities to some extent.

Last year Jowala Parshad a Mahajan owning a good deal of land in the close neighbourhood or Gurgaon, who is zaildar of the Badshahpur Circle, and has considerable local influence, started a gaushala at Badshahpur, and convened a "Panchayat," at which the Gujars of a large number of the surrounding villages bound themselves in caste penalties not to sell cattle under any circumstances to Muhammadans.

This action was taken, there is reason to suppose, at the instigation of certain relations of the zaildar in the North-Western Provinces.

He has connexions, it is understood, in Manipuri and other places where there is said to be much bitterenss between the money-lenders and the butcher class, which has lately been pushing ready-money transactions in plough cattle, and trenching on the profits of the agricultural bankers in consequence of the facilities afforded by the extension of cattle fairs and improvement of communications.

This competition is spreading to the Gurgaon District, where there is little waste left suitable for grazing; while recent prosperity has induced the cultivators to make their purchases of fresh stock for well and plough work from dealers direct, for a cash payment which the "Bopari" is often ready to reduce by taking over a worn-out steer or a surplus heifer. This is an innovation among the Meos, although nominal Muhammadans, as well as for the Jats and Ahirs, because until quite recently most Meos looked on the disposal of a cow or bullock for the use of the flesh or hide as discreditable.

Nowadays all classes, except Gujars and Hindu Rajputs in some estates, trade freely with the itinerant Muhammadan brokers who abound in this tract, or with agents of the substantial cattle-dealers of Nuh, Taoru and the Jhajjar country.

The Rohtak "Boparis" have actually attempted to set up a fair of their own in the neighbourhood of Rewari, which has provoked a similar enterprise by the Rewari butchers. How far the latter is controlled by the Rewari Hindus I cannot say as yet, but it is suspected that Ahirs were discouraged by the Rewari Gaushala people from attending either market.

The worst feature which has come to light in connexion with the local agitation is that false complaints of theft or possessing stolen property appear to have been instituted from time to time against persons obnoxious to the leading promoters of the anit-kine killing propagands. I have been expressly told that such cases have been launched, and matters that have transpired in the course of appeal and supervision led me to belive that certain persons are in the habit of trumping up such cases. Suspicious claims have been put forward by Hindus resident in Alwar territory, and there have been indications for some time of similar abuses in the neighbourhood of Farrukhnagar. Quite lately a complaint has been preferred, but not openly, to the police gainst machinations of this kind by a Rajput headman of notoriously bad and turbulent character of a village near Farrukhnagar. This man is known to be the tool of certain Kaiths, belonging to the Bulandshahr district originally, who have purchased land in the Farrukhnagar neighbourhood. One of these men was formerly the Nazir of the Gurgaon office, and another brother is a clerk in the office of the Executive Engineer, Karnal Division, Western Jumna Canal.

The police have reported that the agitators in this district are supported by Indar Singh, Rajput, Honorary Magistrate

of Kutani in the Rohtak District. A member of the Kutani family has been trying hard to acquire land in the Farrukhnagar tract lately, and I am told that one object of this is to check the traffic in bovine stock, so far as possible. He is a Deputy Collector in the North-Western Provinces.

It is not easy, without making more of this aspect of the question than apears to be justified at present, to verify details, or get at any thing very tangible: but I have so arranged the distribution of Magistrate's business that any case about kine or bullocks which would be at all likely to be the fruit of malice of the sort just indicated shall come before the District Magistrate in the first instance. This has been done in such a ay as to avoid attention.

I spoke to the Badshahpur Zaildar about his proceedings, pointing out that in such a district as Gurgaon such interference as he attempted with the course of trade was not unlikely to affect agricultural interests injuriously, and that in his own particular case his action might be attributed, though I did not entertain any such idea myself, to a wish to keep the profits of the money-lending class at an artificial level. He professed to be convinced; and he has broken up his "*aazal*," and abstained from any further tampering with his neighhours in the matter of kine and beeves. I believe that Jowala Parshad acted in good faith, and that he had been persuaded that such organizations are favoured by the avowed desire of the British Government to allow fair scope for the development of popular associations.

Men of his stamp are beginning in these parts to discuss such matters as political and special toleration, and I find that they not unnaturally imagine that offical toleration is meant to cover any thing which appeals to the sentiments or interests of their particular class provided that it is not understood to confict with any express and positive enactment. Previ-

ously similar ground was taken by the other side some month ago when a vigorous attempt was made in different towns to establish kine sacrifices at the Id and to forestall the [illegible] application of the Rules under Act IV of 1872 of 1890.

I have not gone into all the matters pertinent to this question that have been before [illegible] times since I took charge of the Gurgaon District in October 1890. This [illegible] ready quite long enough, and I feel that while the subject in its local bearings [illegible] to myself, it is not so ease to put it accurately before those who are less familar with the local circumstances.

To sum up. I would answer the points touched in the Government inquiry briefly [illegible] viz:-

(a) The main Gaurakhshani movement has extended as yet rather feebly to the Gurgaon district and, so far, comparatively harmlessly.

(b) The organized societies of other Provinces have not apparently established any actual footing in Gurgaon.

(c) The local caste and sectarian societies, as well as certain recently revived branches of the Arya Samaj, have not as yet taken up the kine-killing agitation openly.

(d) There is nevertheless a decided growth of feeling among all classes of Hindus in the district and a certain measure of rather vaguely directed agitation on the subject of the sale and slaughter of bovine stock.

(e) The feeling just mentioned is unhealthy: it might at any moment assume very mischievous proportions, and it is producing a decided feeling of resentment among certain classes of the Muslim community; by some Muhammadans on the other hand it is abetted, either from motives of individual interest or on sentimental grounds.

The Darwesh class, who have great local influence, and many Muhammadan Rajputs side in this matter with the Hindu agitators.

Letter from A. E. Hurry to Colonel J. B. Hutchinson

Dated Camp Lahore, 26th November 1893

From: A.E. Hurry, Esq, Offg. Deputy Commissioner, Lahore.

To: Colonel J.B. Hutchinson, Commissioner and Superintendent, Lahore Division.

There is no cow-protection society in Lahore. In May 1891 at the instigation of the Arya Samaj the members of the vegetarian society, Lahore, held a meeting, when a lecture was delivered by Swami Ralla Ram on cow-protection. It was decided to establish a gaushala (cow-pen) in the city, in which cow and oxen should be kept after being purchased, the cow to be sent towards the Ganges, so that they might not be slaughtered at the Id festival. It was also decided to raise subscription, but the matter fell through, and thre is now no gaushala in Lahore. Ralla Ram is a member of the cow-protection society. The movement is no doubt spreading in the Punjab, but I can not say if it is becoming dangerous.

I think the cow protection societies need very careful watching. They are essentially hostile to Musalmans, but thier grave importance as regards the peace of India will be increased

very considerably, if they are ever found to be connected with the fomenting of disloyalty or dissatisfaction on the part of Musalmans to our rule. In my opinion there will be ground for grave apprehension when these two movements are found to be simulteneous.

I do not think they are so as yet.

P.S. This is in reply to confidential Circular of 2nd November1893, to your predecessor's address, from Chief Secretary to Punjab Government.

Letter from B. T. M. Lang to Colonel J. B. Hutchinson

Dated Camp, Amritsar District, 10th December 1893.

From: Colonel B. T. M. Lang, Deputy Commissioner, Amritsar.

To: Colonel J.B. Hutchinson, Offg. Commissioner and Superintendent, Lahore Division.

In reply to your demi-official Circular dated 6th November, forwarding Chief Secretary's confidential Circula. dated 2nd November about cow-killing societies in the Punjab, my enquiries now made confirm my previous ideas on the subject, *viz*, that, as far as we can find out, there are no regularly organised societies for the protection of the cows in the Amritsar city or district. An attempt was made to form such a society some six years ago by the notorious Bawa Narain Singh of the *Singh Sahai* newspaper, but nothing permanent came of it, and no such society exists now. But there is no doubt I think that the Hindu society generally and every Hindu "society" in Amritsar, as elsewhere, is at all time ready to help in furthering the object of cow-protection, whenever it is called on to assist, and all the Hindu societies, such as the Arya Samaj, Singh Sabha, Khalsa Diwan and Dharm Sabha,

go in at times for advocating protection of cows at their meetings. Speeches in favour of it are often made at all these societies' meetings, and papers interested in them sometimes give articles on the subject. Nothing apparently tangible has as yet come of all this, and there seems to be no planned organization for cow-protection as yet, but these constant "stimulants" afforded by the societies' speeches and articles does enough to keep alive a dangerous feeling of excitement.

Excuse the delay in my reply, the result of my being in Camp; and Allsop and Nichols having to be written to and consulted on the subject.

Letter from Captain C. G. Parsons to Colonel L. J. H. Grey, C.B.I. Commissioner and Superintendent

Dated Umballa City, 12th December 1893.

From: Captain C.G. Parsons, Deputy Commissioner, Umballa,

To: Colonel L.J.H. Grey, C.B.I. Commissioner and Superintendent, Delhi Division.

I reply to Mr. Fanshaw's Confidential Circular, dated 2nd November 1893, to your address, regarding cow-protection organizations.

I enclose a report by Mr. Ernest Holder, Extra Assistant Commissioner, and Mr. Meakins, Inspector of Police.

The reports confirm the opinion I myself held. I do not belive that there is any organized movement in the district. If one existed anywhere, it would be in Jagadhri or Thanesar, but I believe that the matter has not been taken up.

I have in other confidential correspondence regarding the Congress given it as my opinion that societies like the Arya Samaj, &c indirectly and sometimes directly stimulate the circulation of propaganda directed towards cow-protection, but protracted enquiries have failed to show that any one except the Pleader, Murli Dhar, has been openly active in this district. In my letter regarding the Congress organisation I

reported on Murli Dhar. He is an enthusiastic and active Congressman who stumps the country and makes speeches at Lahore. He is the principal Umballa delegate for the Congress.

How he is able to reconcile his radical political tendencies with his conservative notions about cow-slaughter it is difficult to conceive: and this is perhaps an instance of the sham aspirations put forward by Congressmen to cover real aspirations kept in the background.

I regret being late with this reply, but Mr. Holder allowed delay to occur in collecting information.

Letter from E. Holder to Captain C.G. Parsons, Deputy Commissioner, Umballa

Dated 9th December 1893

From: E. Holder, Esquire, Extra Assistant Commissioner, Umballa,

To: Captain C.G. Parsons, Deputy Commissioner, Umballa.

I beg to report as follows in reply to Punjab Government Confidential Circular dated 2nd November 1893, regarding the cow-protection movement.

2. There are no societies in this district specially constituted for cow-protection.

3. Of societies constituted for general religious or sectarian purposes, we have the following:-

Umballa City–
(1) Arya Samaj.
(2) Anjuman Islamia.
(3) Kaisth Sabha.
(4) Singh Sabha.

Umballa Cantonment–
(5) Arya Samaj.
(6) Kaisth Sabha.
(7) Singh Sabha.

But in none of these, as far as I have been able to ascertain, is the cow-killing question discussed, at special meetings or otherwise.

At Umballa City very careful inquiries have been made, and policemen in plain clothes specially deputed for the purpose, have attended all the recent meetings.

The reply about Umballa Cantonments has not yet been received, but I find from verbal inquiries, made indirectly from several respectable men, that the agitation is not known at Cantonments.

The delay in submission of this report is due to non-receipt of the Cantonment reply. (I wrote to Mr. Meakins, Inspector of Police, and sent my letter registered.)

I return the Government Circular with slip containing your order of 14th November.

P.S.: There are no societies of any kind at Thanesar.

Letter from P. W. Meakins to E. Holder, Extra Assistant Commissioner, Umballa

Dated 11th December 1893.

From: P. W. Meakins, Esquire, Inspector of Police, Umballa Cantonment.

To: E. Holder, Esquire, Extra Assistant Commissioner, Umballa.

I have had secret enquiries made through my Deputy Inspector, and he informs me there are no cow-killing societies in Cantonments. He states, however, that Murli Dhar, Pleader, with some other of Umballa City about two or three months back visited Cantonments to collect funds. The matter was anything but warmly taken up by the Hindus of Cantonments; in fact was a failure: a very small sum indeed was collected the money being given more to oblige Murli Dhar. I can not ascertain how much was collected.

I hope you will excuse my not being able to furnish you this information earlier.

Letter from A. Anderson to Commissioner and Superintendent, Delhi Division

Dated Camp, 2nd December 1893.

From: A. Anderson, Esquire, Deputy Commissioner, Delhi
To: The Commissioner and Superintendent, Delhi division.

I forward herewith the reports received from the Police about cow-protection societies in reply to the Confidential Circular demi-official dated 2nd November 1893 and also a demi-official sent me direct, dated 18th November 1893, which I enclose.

2. There are Gaushalas–
(1) at Delhi:-
(a) Sarai Rahulla khan, only started and stopped in consequence of advice given by me to the Marwari Projectors,
(b) Katra Ashroff.
(2) at Sonepat,
(3) at Najafgarh,
(4) at Ballabgarh.

3. The Marwaris have for some time been collecting

funds for a gaushala at Delhi, especially the Marwaris of Katra Tambaku; they have promised contributions on sales &c, and a large sum has been collected already, though for some past the managers have not collected the subscriptions due. When there was uneasiness in Delhi, I had the principal men up, and as the land which they had purchased for the site of the gaushala was *nominally* if not really Government property, being shown as Government property in (*sic*, copy torn), I said they must stop operations. At the same time I said this activity was unwise just at that time, and so they stopped the work and also the collection of subscriptions. The people came to me recently and asked if they might not build a Dharmsala near the railway station for travellers. I said I should see about a site, and on this understanding subscriptions are being again collected I believe. In my opinion the movement in Delhi is genuine, for the purpose of tending old cattle and not for political reasons, though the idea is perhaps the result of political agitation. The other societies do not take much direct interest in the Gaurakshani Sabhas of Delhi. See Mr. Jackson's note. Still the movement is spreading and requires to be watched, especially in Sonepat, where both in the city and in the villages there is an agitation for the protection of cows. I doubt if Singh Ram Zaildar, has given so much as Rs. 1,500 but he has probably contributed samething in return for his acquittal by the Chief Court. The subject is being more fully enquired into, and further reports will be submitted if necessary.

Note by H. Jackson, District Superintendent of Police, Delhi

Dated 21st November 1893

There is also a Gaushala started at Ballabgarh. Deputy Inspector Shaukat Husen has been asked to furnish a report as soon as possible.

With regard to the interest which is or is not taken in this movement, we have nothing to show that the Arya Samajists of Delhi have any connection with these particular Sabhas, but as regards the Dharm Maha Mandal people, it may be noted that the pamphlet forwarded recently by me with the Confidential Diary was edited by Din Dayal, the General Secretary, and Pandit Ram Chand, who is a very influential member of the Dharm Maha Mandal, was mentioned in the pamphlet. That he takes a practical interest in the Sonepat Gorakhshni Sabha is evident from the fact that pamphlets, &c., in connection with it are sent to him for sale and disposal.

I enclose another pamphlet edited for the Sonepat Sabha presumably written by a Muhammadan , but I very much

* This pamplet is in Nagri character and bears the title "Gau pukar Pushrawali" (verses constituting an appeal of the cow). It has been prepared by a Muhammadan named Saddi, a poet of Oriya. for the use of the sympathisers with the cow and has been revised by Ram

doubt whether a Muhammadan would endorse the opinions, &c., set forth.

As a matter of fact I believe that all Hindus are and cannot well help themselves being very much interested in the movement, but influential men with their usual caution, do not care to make themselves too conspicuous by an open advocacy of the movement at present.

The pamphlet commences with a prayer to God to the effect that though the author is a Mohammadan by birth yet he would be delighted to see the cow protected, as India has been devastated.

Then follows a poem in Laoni style in which the cow is represented as calling upon Krishna, who while incarnated upon the earth used to look after cows and calves. The cow laments that after she has fed people with her milk, &c,. she is sold to butcher in her old age. The residents of Oriya have wisely resolved to open a cow shed, but it is to be feared that some wicked official may be standing by.

This is followed by another appeal to God to save the cow as it has on many occasions in ancient times rescued pious persons from the persecution of their oppressors. Hundreds of cows are now slaughtered without any fault on their part. This is a grave mis-fortune, O, all merciful God!

This is followed by another poem in the *Langhdi* style appealing to the merciful God, in that notwithstanding His being the protector of cows, they are slaughtered:–

"We graze in the woods, do no harm to any one; do not commit highway robbery, &c; and yet we are slaughtered notwithstanding our being under Thy protection."

Chand and printed by Lala Devi Sahai, Manager, at the Qaisar-i-Hind Press, Delhi, in 1893.

The next poem is a Laoni song the purport of which is that cows are profaned by the foolish.

The cow is represented as urging her case by detailing the benefits she bestows upon men, and yet sinful man slays her and eats ber flesh. she curses those who persecute her.

This is followed by an ode which runs as below:-

"Hear ye people the complaint of the cow. They kill me without any fault on my part".

"O people of India! The cows are slain in your presence. Where are you sleeping forgetful of me? How should I be slain if you did not sell me!"

The author, Saddi, is glad to learn that a cow shed is to be established in Oriya. Another ode:-

"What a gross injustice (andher). The innocent cows are slain without mercy. Is the kind Empress sleeping in neglect the whole country is weakened by kine-slaughter."

At page 9 end the poems are said to be composed by Saddi.

Then follow verses regarding a meeting of the Jats of Sonepat with a view to adopting measures for cow protection as a pious and useful act. All the zamindars were called together and the painful story of old cows slain by butchers was related to them. It was shown how the Hindus were profaning their religion and there were none courageous enough to remove the troubles of the cow. The audience was appealed to for subscriptions which were collected to the amount of Rs.505. The verses conclude with the following appeal:

"The merits of the cow are proclaimed in the Vedas. Great injustice prevails; do protect the cow. Do service to the cow, O men and women, by words and deeds. You will receive salvation thereby."

At the end of the pamphlet occur the following verses:

"The Hindus have been drowned (in sin). The innocent cows are being slain. Be firm in your religious belief and do

not sell the cow to mean people. It is an unbearable distress that wicked people slay cow. A cow shed has now been opened and a *sadabarat* (charitable institution) is maintained."

Confidential Police Report on the Gaurakshini Sabhas in the Delhi District

Delhi, near Sarai Rohilla Khan.

Since last three years Hardial Singh, son of Dina Nath, Pansari (Druggist); Ambey Sahai, son of Gopal Dass, Baniah, Veshnu; Shankar Dass and Gurdial, Marwaris, shop-keepers, of katra Tobacco, Khari Baoli, Delhi, with assistance of other Hindus of the City and "Marwaris." have been collecting money for keeping a gaushala in Delhi.

They levied three pies per rupee on the goods sold at Khari Baoli (some of the goods are charged three pies per tola, some three pies per seer and some six pies per bundle, and so on). They have collected about Rs. 10,000 and deposited it in the National Bank.

A piece of land (12 bighas) has been purchased for Rs. 2,000 near Sarai Ruhulla Khan to build the gaushala there. The construction was started, but the work has not been completed and is delayed.

They have appointed a chaprasi on Rs. 5 per mensem to collect subscriptions.

No other members have been named and no rules framed as yet.

No cows or cattle in possession of the Gaurakshani Sabha.

Katra Ashrafi

About 20 cows are kept in this Katra. The expenses for their feeding, &c.are paid by all the Marwari shop-keepers of the Katra. Chatar Bhuj, Ram Narain, Jiwan Lal and other about 10 men are looking after the cattle feeding.

Sonepat

There are 22 members in this Sabha, of which 4 are called patrons, 6 panches and the remaining 12 are members.

Patrons:

1. Lala Banarsi Das, son of Rajkaran Das Saraogi.
2. Pandit Kidar Nath, son of Baij Nath, Brahmin.
3. Mutsaddi Lal, son of Jogi Das, Saraogi,
4. Sheo Nath, Lambardar, Jat.

Panches:

5. Ramsaran Das, son of Ram Parshad, Bania, Veshnu.
6. Nanak Chand, son of Ram Dial, Bania, Veshnu.
7. Chiranji Lal, son of Parem Sukh, Bania, Veshnu.
8. Mutsaddi Lal, Saraogi.
9. Lakhi, Lambardar, Jat.
10. Vacant, vice Kabul Singh, Brahmin, dead.

Members.

11. Umrao Singh, son of Dharm Das, Saraogi.
12. Mithan Lal, son of Sant Lal, Bania, Veshnu.
13. Piyarey Lal, son of Sant Lal, Bania, Veshnu.
14. Ganga Dial, son of Shankar Das, Bania, Veshnu.
15. Nanak Chand, son of Mutsaddi Lal, Bania, Veshnu.
16. Ravi Dat, son of Jagdis Singh, Brahmin.
17. Niadar Mal, son of Har Parshad, Bania, Veshnu.
18. Wazir Chand, son of Mohar Singh, Bania, Veshnu.
19. Nand Kishor, son of Ramji Lal, Bania, Veshnu.
20. Narinjan Das, son of Ganeshi, Bania, Veshnu.

21. Moti Mal, son of Piyare Lal, Bania, Veshnu.
22. Thambu, Lambardar, Jat.

The gaushala was started about a year ago. There are 61 cattle in the gaushala. They were kept at first in a hired house in Gali Khatian, but a piece of land was purchased for Rs. 400 between the Lal Darwaza and Jats Darwaza near the circular road and a building constructed, where the cattle are now kept: Rs. 500 were spent in construction of this building. All this money was collected by subscriptions. The Hindus pay donations on their marriages towards the fund. Two members take the responsibility of looking after the arrangements weekly. There is no money in hand at present. At each harvest fodder is collected *gratis* from villages for the cattle.

Ram Chand, son of Bansi Lal, Bania, Veshnu, is treasurer of the gaushala.

The following servants are kept at gaushala.

1. Makhan Lal, son of Shankar Lal, Brahmin, "Muharrir," on Rs. 6 per mensem.

2. Baldeo Sahai, son of Ganesh, Brahmin, "Chaprasi," on Rs 2-8-0 per mensem. This man collects "atta," &c., as alms also.

3. Bhambu, Dhanak, "Pali" gets Rs 3-3-0.
4. Buddhu, Chamar, "Pali" gets Rs. 2 per mensem.

The object of this gaushala is to take care of the old and unclaimed cattle. The gaushala has no connection with any other Sabha. There are no other rules framed by the Sabha.

Najafgarh

There is a Gaushala started since 2 3/4 years here in which cattle from surrounding villages, Delhi, Rohtak and Gurgaon districts, are brought for being taken care of. One Bagru,

Bania, gave his ruined house for the purpose. About Rs. 1,500 were spent on it in constructing stables for the cattle. A piece of adjacent land was bought in auction for Rs. 70 and enclosed so as to form a compound round which they can build other stables should the necessity arise.

At the beginning of the gaushala, R. B. Rughnath Singh, Honorary Magistrate, Hira Singh, Hospital Assistant, Tipar Chand, Girdawr Kanungo, and Patwaris, &c., used to hold a meeting every fortnight, but they do not assemble now. A list of monthly subscription was started, by which about Rs. 38 per mensem used to be collected. Three pies per rupee on the goods sold in the bazar and the same amount per rupee on the salaries of public servants (Girdawr, Patwaris, Hospital Assistant, &c.) used to be collected. The Hospital Assistant has now ceased paying monthly "Chanda," and therefore the income has been reduced.

The Hindus give donations on their marriages. One Lachhman, Bohra, paid Rs. 150 on his marriage.

The folder is collected at harvest from villages. There are 111 cattle in the gaushala at present. Four hundred amd nine cattle brought to gaushala from the starting of it, out of which 266 died and 32 were sold after being taken care of and become fit for use.

Members.

1. Pandit Salig Ram, School Master. This man keeps the register of cattle in the Gaushala.
2. R.B.Rugnath Singh, Honorary Magistrate.
3. Hira Singh, Hospital Assistant.
4. Tipar Chand,
5. Girdawar Kanungo.
6. Ratti Ram, Mahajan, also treasurer of the Gaushala.
7. Lachman, Bohra.
8. Ganpat, Mahajan.

9. Mathra Das.
10. Fakira.

Servants kept at the Gaushala.

1. Shankar, Brahmin, on Rs. 6 per mensem. This man collects fodder from villages.

2. Yadu, Ahir, on Rs. 3-12 per mensem, to look after the cattle feeding, &c.

3. Kadra, Gawalla, on Rs.3 per mensem.
4. Abdulla, Gawalla, on Rs 2-8 per mensem.

This gaushala has no connection with any Sabha. The members are Veshnus and Saraogis by religion. None of them belong to Arya Samaj. There are no rules framed for the Gaushala arrangements.

Confidential Note by Bashir Husain, Inspector of Police, on Gaurakshini Sabha at Ballabgarh

Dated 27 November 1893

There is a gaushala kept here in which 12 cows and calves are kept at present, but they are all of them useless, being lame, &c.

On the occasion of marriages (Hindus), Rs 2 are paid to the gaushala fund.

Kalli, Brahmin is kept on Rs 3 per mensem to look after the cattle. He takes them out for grazing to the jungle. The expenses of feeding at night amount to 12 annas daily.

(1) Bansi Dhar, Bannia, Muharrir of the Sub-Registrar's Office, Tahsil Ballabgarh, is the President ; (2) Ram Sarup, Bannia, is the Manager; and (3) Santi Mal, Bannia, is the Treasurer.

The President belongs to Arya Samaj, and the other men are Veshnus by religion.

The gaushala is named Dharem Sabha, and about Rs 600 are in fund.

The accounts are passed by the President.

Nothing else could be ascertained. The Sabha holds no meetings.

Letter from Colonel A. Rannick to Commissioner and Superintendent, Delhi Division

No. 200, dated 16th November 1893.

From: Colonel A. Rannick, Deputy Commissioner, Rohtak

To: The Commissioner and Superintendent, Delhi Division

With reference to Confidential Circular dated Lahore, 2nd instant, from the Chief Secretary to Punjab Government, I have the honour to report that there are no societies whose object has anything to do with cow-protection, &c., in this district, and, as far as I can judge, the district is perfectly quiet, and no ill-feeling exists between Hindus and Muhammadans, and the subject of cow-killing is not discussed.

Letter from P.D. Agnew to Colonel L.J.H. Grey

Dated Karnal, 3rd January 1894.

From: P.D. Agnew, Esquire, offg. Deputy Commissioner. Karnal,

To: Colonel L.J.H. Grey , C.B.I, Commissioner, and Superintendent, Delhi Division.

My reply to the confidential circular of 2nd November has been delayed for reasons which are known to you. There is only one place in the district where a Gaurakshani Society is in course of formation, and that is Panipat. Two Banyas, Shadial Singh and Hargolal, are collecting subscriptions. The object of the movement is the protection of lame and diseased animals and to prevent their falling into the hands of the butchers. There appears to be no other motive.

There have been no organised meetings of any kind in connection with the anti-cow-killing movement or the formation of cow-protection societies.

Source: IOL: J&P, 298/1894

Endorsement by the Commissioner and Superintendent, Delhi Division

No. C.X. (a), dated 6th January 1894.

Forwarded to the Assistant to the Inspector-General of Police, Punjab, Special Branch, in continuation of this office No. C.X, dated 18th December 1893.

BRITISH CORRESPONDENCE ON THE AGITATION IN BIHAR

Letter from A. Forbes to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal

Dated: Bankipore, the 27th October 1893.
From: A. Forbes, Esquire, Commissioner of Patna Division,
To: The Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

I have the honour to submit the report called for in your circular No. 67 J.D., dated the 8th September 1893, regarding the anti-kine-killing agitation in this division.

2. Reports have been furnished by all the district officers of this division, and I have also received a long and interesting note from Mr. T.M. Gibbon, C.I.E., of the Bettiah Raj, which is attached to this report as an appendix. I will divide the report into four sections corresponding with the various topics, information upon which is called for in the circular under reply.

SECTION A. *The Gaurakshini Societies of Bihar and the history of the movement.* The earliest organisation for the preservation of kine appears to have been in the district of Gaya. Here a Gaurakshini Sabha was founded by Bhikari Sankar Bhattacharji, a domiciled Bengali zamindar, in 1887, and subsisted as a voluntary organisation till 1889. In that year Gaya was visited by Sriman Swami, whose preaching led to the founding of a large gaushala on land given by Raja

Ram Bahadur Singh, of Tikari. At the same time subscriptions ceased to be voluntary and were levied upon all Hindus as a species of religious tax, while agents were sent out to preach the well-known gaurakshni doctrines regarding the duty of preserving kine and the sin of selling them to butchers or their middlemen. The Vice-Presidents were respectively Babu Indra Narain Chakravarti, Government Pleader, Babu Raj Kisore Narain Singh, Deputy Collector, and Babu Brij Mohan Pershad, Munsif.

In 1890, however, the funds dwindled chiefly through embezzlement, and the Society was therefore remodelled under Babu Baldeo Lal, Pleader, and regular accounts were kept; one Mahabali Bajpai, an up-country Brahmin, being appointed accountant and curator of the gaushala.

There was an attempt to prevent the usual Bakr Id cow sacrifice by the Brahmins of Kabar in Tikari in 1889, but it subsided as soon as the leading Hindus were made special constables. In 1891 there was a serious riot in the town of Gaya on the same occcasion, due to ostentatious parading through the Hindu quarter of a sacrificial cow by some ill-conditioned Musalmaans. This riot was suppressed with great dificulty after the Hindus had been allowed to buy back the cow, and grave anxiety was felt lest it might be renewed in 1892. Special precautions were, however, taken in time, and all passed off quietly in the town, though there were two or three cases of interference in other parts of the district which did not lead to disturbances. So far Mr. Macpherson is of opinion that the Gaurakshini Sabha cannot be held directly responsible for what took place, though no doubt its teachings had done much to excite public feeling on the subject. But in March of the current year there was a sudden recrudescence of militant opposition to kine slaughter, which could only be held in check by promptly quartering bodies of addi-

tional police in the different places[1] where disturbances from time to time broke out. This revival of fanaticism is attributable chiefly to the violent and inflammatory language used by the various petty agents sent by the head or branch societies to cattle fairs to discourage the sale of kine to Muhammadans. These minor or branch Sabhas had been established chiefly in the western portion of the district principally as a result of the preaching of a pandit of the Ranchi Zilla school in or near Aurangabad some two years ago. There are altogether seven of them, viz.:

1. Sakarbigha in Tikari,
2. Gopalpur, police-station Shergotty.
3. Raniganj in the same.
4. Jamhor in Aurangabad.
5. Obra in Aurangabad.
6. War in Aurangabad.
7. Aurangabad town.

Particulars of these will be found in the enclosure to Mr. Macpherson's report (see page 317).

Finding they are likely to be held responsible for these repeated outbreaks, the executive of the Gaya Sabha have since resigned in a body and have not been replaced. In a word, the Gaya Sabha is for the present in a dormant state. Similarly, the office bearers of the mufassal Sabhas have withdrawn, and there is for the present but little or no active agitation going on anywhere in the Gaya district.

In Saran the first Gaurakshini Sabha was founded in 1887 by the reconstitution of the religious "Sanatan Dharmi Pracharani Sabha" founded seven years before by Rai Matadin Singh Bahadur, then Sub-Judge of Chapra. The conversion was brought about by Thakur Prasad Kalwar, a Baniah of Sahibganj, and Rudhra Prasad, Pleader, a managing committe of 13 being appointed. During the Sonepore fair of

---

1 A list is given. They occured at (details not legible)

1888 a mass meeting was held under the presidency of the Maharaja of Hatwa, and in November of the same year Pandit Jagat Narain, of Allahabad, lectured at the shrine of "Homber Nath" on the banks of the Mahanadi. This Jagat Narain has since then visited Chapra every year, and the movement has gained ground and been organised; officers, designated as muharrirs, tahsildars, jamadars and piyadas, were appointed, and a certain Udit Chaube sent out as a preacher. Jagat Narain and a certain Kisore Lal again visited Chapra in January 1890, and meetings were regularly held until the end of 1891, during which time Babus Trijadhan Upadhaya and Oudh Bihari Saran Misir were successively Presidents. Regular accounts were kept and a gaushala was built, into which the cattle protected by the Sabha and formerly kept in the serai were removed. Thus affairs went on quietly through 1891 and 1892, but in May of the current year the movement suddenly beome vitalized. In that month meetings took place at Ghutni and Kisanpali in the Darawli jurisdiction, and the notorious Jagdeo Bahadur, of Ballia, made an incursion into the district with 200 or 300 followers and held sabhas at various places in the same thana. At these meetings the people were first directed to rescue cattle from the butchers at any cost.

In June there were five meetings – those at Siwan, Patar and Titura (addressed by Homnath pandit, a well-known agitator), at Mairwa and at Maharajganj, where Mahabir Upadhya from Gorakhpur preached, and Rs. 800 was subscribed for a gaushala. Ramanath Singh, now undergoing four years imprisonment for cattle rescue, was the President of this meeting.

On the 25th June (the third day of the Bakr Id) a disturbance was threatened at Jalahatola in Barharia outpost, but the affair blew over.

Early in July meetings were held at the instance of the Rani

of Majhauli (who has espoused the cow cause with great vigour) at Darauli, and afterwards at Shiapura Sakra and Bishmia. About the 10th of the month another disturbance between Hindus and Musalmaans appeared to be imminent at Firozpur in Darauli, but eventually nothing came of it, thanks to special precautions taken by the Magistrate. Just before Muharram another meeting was held at Maharajganj, and Hindus were forbidden to join in the procession or help in making *tazaihs*.

Shortly after this the case occurred in which Ramnath Singh was subsequently convicted as already mentioned. He compelled a butcher by force to surrender to him a buffalo, which had just been bought for slaughter, and succeeded, with the connivance of the local police, in keeping the matter secret for a considerable time.

Another meeting took place at Maharajganj on 20th August for the purpose of inaugurating branch sabhas in the interior, and this was followed by a mass meeting on the 26th at Basantpur, where the people were incited to rescue cattle and resist the police, & c. The result was seen within a week in the series of riots which culminated in the attack upon the Basantpur thana on 6th September and the firing by the police upon the mob.

Prior to this there had been several instances of leading Hindus forbidding Musalmaans to draw water from the village wells, and, though an attempt to start a gaushala near Hatwa had failed, a movement began to forbid the Gonds to parch gram for Musalmaans in the Majhauli Raj. A scare was also created by an order from the Hatwa Raj ordering the Gonds to throw away their old vessels and buy new ones, but this has since been explained by the Maharaja to have been ordered on purely sanitary grounds.

A few days after the Basantpur riot, the principal mem-

bers of the Gaurakshini Sabha of Chapara met by night at the house of Babu Debi Prasad, of Rusee, when Rs. 5000 was subscribed for the defence of the last-mentioned case (Babus Mahabir Prasad and Debi Prasad each subscribing Rs. 1,000) and Seu Baksh Mal Rs. 500; the amount was deposited with a local banker of Chapra.

In Shahabad the first sabha was instituted in 1888 by a Bengali accountant in the District Engineer's Office, two Punjabi shawl-sellers and a rich Marwari. Subsequently, others were opened at Sasaram, Nasriganj, and more recently at Bhabua. Of these, that at Sasaram was started by pleaders and a Muncipal tax daroga, while the other two are due to Banniahs and Marwaris. By each of them a gaushala was founded and kept up for worn-out and useless cattle, and by a mutual arrangement each received from the others such cattle as they had not accommodation for. Until this year they appear to have kept within their ostensible and legitimate objects, but about the time of the Muharram an attempt was made at Sasaram to boycott the Muhammadans, Kahars being forbidden to carry the *taziahs*, and other Hindus to assist as formerly. The Joint-Magistrate was deputed to the spot, and all passed off quietly.

The great riot at the fair of Berhampur in April 1891, when a large mob of armed Hindus attacked the butchers as they were driving off their purchased cattle, and would not desist nor disperse till the police had fired upon them, was due in great measure to the preaching of the notorious agitator, Gopalanand Swami, who was subsequently arrested and imprisoned for two years. The local Gaurakshini Sabhas do not appear to have been implicated, but Gopalanand is well known as an organiser of sabhas and a preacher of their doctrines. His programme for an organisation of the sabhas has been published at paragraph 1963 of the Confidential Abstract of Intelligence.

The next development appears to have been that at Sasaram, already alluded to, and about the same time a serious outbreak very nearly took place at Bhojpur near Dumraon. There are several butchers near this place, and they were suspected of having made away with a cow belonging to a Brahmin. The Brahmin vented his wrath by coming into the bazar and cursing the butchers with threats of vengeance. Accordingly, when during the Muharram some person threw a clod of earth at the procession, the Musalmans thought they were being attacked, dropped their *taziahs* and rushed upon all the Hindus they could see. One or two of these were beaten, and the Musalmaans then went off and laid a much exaggerated complaint at the thana, first knocking a hole in their own *taziah* to support it. Meanwhile a counter-mob of Hindus asembled; but the Dewan, Rai Jai Prakash Lal Bahadur, C.I.E., hurried to the spot and succeeded in quieting both parties with the help of the police.

The month of August was outwardly quiet, but *patras* (anonymous letters of which more hereafter) kept pouring into the district in great numbers and were extensively circulated in Sasaram and Bhabua. These for the most part forbade Hindus to sell cattle to butchers, but also enjoined them to shun the Musalmaans even to the extent of not employing them as law agents.

In the last days of August came the riot at Koath, regarding which a separate report has been submitted. Here the proximate cause was the misconduct of the butchers in killing a Brahmani bull. The system of *patras* was used here with marvellous secrecy and despatch, an armed mob of over 1,000 men being collected within 24 hours.

A few days later there were rumours of an intended attack upon a Musalmaan mukhtear at Kochus in Sasaram and upon the butchers of Ranisagar, but timely warning was received

by the Magistrate in each case, and the precautions taken by him prevented any outbreak.

In Champaran there has only been one Gaurakshini Sabha, that established at Bettiah by Sriman Swami in 1888. This was entirely officered by the amlah of the Bettih Raj, and the Maharaja himself at the outset subscribed Rs. 2,000 to the funds of the Central Committee. Subsequently, however, he came to the conclusion that the agitation was the work of "Congresswallahs," and withdrew his support. An abortive attempt to start a sabha at Motihari was made in June 1892, and again during the current year, when some Marwaris tried, but failed, to obtain land for a gaushala. The movement at Bettiah appears to have been purely religious, and the local committee has confined itself to its legitimate objects and has founded and maintained a gaushala. There have been no riots in this district, but in July last there was a minor attempt at rescue of cattle on the road between Segowlie and Gobindganj, and during the month of September rumours were rife of an intended attack upon the Muhammadans while in the mosque at Friday prayers. Further details will be found in Mr. Gibbons note[2]

In the Muzaffarpur district there are three sabhas, viz., those of:

(i) Sitamarhi (which, though a branch of the Madhubani Sabha in Darbhanga, has an affiliated Gram Sabha of its own at Bairagnia).
(ii) Hajipur.
(iii) Lalganj.

All of these were established since last March; that at Sitamarhi through the influence of Babus Durga Datt Singh and Hakhdhari Singh, cousins of the Maharaja of Darbhanga,

---

2 Refer pg. 408

while it is believed that Pandit Ram Anugrah Tribedi, Manager of the Sitamarhi Sabha, was the founder of that at Rajipore, and that all three sabhas are more or less in connection with one another. Gaushalas are kept up by all and regular contributions are levied from all Hindus. A copy of the rules of the Sitamarhi Sabha has been obtained and will be found reproduced at paragraph 1877 of the Police Abstract of Intelligence.

There have been no disturbances whatsoever in this district, but a scare spread that the Muhammadans would be attacked at prayers in the Juma Masjid on Friday, 15th September. They accordingly mustered in very unusual strength and prepared to defend themselves, but precautions had been taken by the Magistrate, and nothing came of it; in fact the rumour was false.

A certain Ram Charan Pare (his real name is Chuni Lal Baniya), with three subordinate preachers, appeared in Muzaffarpur and attempted to collect subscription for the Chapra Gaurakshni Sabha and to found a branch. His books, collecting boxes and flag were attached; and, as he met with small encouragement from the leading Hindus, he left the district.

The strongest supporters of the movement are said to be Babu Nandan Lal, a rich zamindar, and all the leading Marwaris.

In Patna there are two societies. The larger of these is in the city, and is administered by Babu Jai Narain Bajpai, Rai Radha Kissen, Mansuk Rai, Chote Lal, Jaj Raj Bahadur and other rich Marwaris with Jowahir Mal as Secretary. It was founded some five years ago, and has built and maintained a large gaushala. The other sabha is at Paliganj in the Bikram thana, is conducted by Babu Reghunath Pershad a zamindar, and has no gaushala.

The movement against kine-killing is believed to be very old, but to have redoubled its activity since 1888 under the influence of Benares: it has been principally supported by the Bunniahs and Kaiths, who hope thus to make up for their laxness in certain other matters (widow remarriage and drunkenness).

The principal cases arising out of the agitation are given below:-

In the year 1891 a riot took place at Phulwari owing to the Hindus being allowed to drag the Rath car past a masjid, and another in Patna during the Muharram, which however, was probably not due to religious feeling since both creeds take part in the procession.

In 1892 near Fatuha, a cow destined for sacrifice at the Bakr Id was forcibly rescued by a mob of Hindus, who broke into the owner's house and carried it off. Five men were convicted in this case by the Sub-divisional Officer of Barh.

In April 1893 certain villagers of Mashaurdi attacked some butchers who were driving cattle into Dinapore for the Commissariat and rescued the animals.

In June there was a serious riot at Hilsa over the Bakr Id. Both these cases have been the subject of special reports to Government.

In Darbhanga the movement appears to have started as far back as 1885, and, though no disturbances have taken place, it has probably obtained as firm a grasp and spread as widely as in any other district, save perhaps Gaya.

The following is a brief history of the movement: Mr. Williams' report, together with an interesting note on the Madhubani Sabha by Mr. Mullick, the Sub-divisional Officer, are appended.

In January 1885 a certain Bihari Pathak issued a circular, printed at the Raj Press, asking for aid in protecting cows.

However, Bihari Pathak and his brother Darbari, the leading spirits, though Muncipal Commisioners, are men of little weight, and the movement languished till 1888, when it was thoroughly reorganised under the auspices of Pandit Jagat Narain. Letters and lectures in support of the cause are freely resorted to, with the result that within two years sabhas were opened at Lalganj, Hajipur and Sitamarhi in Muzaffarpur[3], and at Tajpur, Madhubani, Rosera and Dalsingserai in Darbhanga. The latter four still exist, and have attempted to throw out branches, Sitamarhi is such a branch of Madhubani. Ostensibly the motives of the societies were legitimate and harmless, and gaushalas were started by all, Darbhanga in particular having an auxiliary gaushala at Rakweria besides that at Darbhanga, each containing 200 or 300 cattle. Preachers were appointed from the first and circulars issued, especially by Madhubani. It should be mentioned that this latter Sabha denies owing its birth to the Darbhanga one, and claims to have been founded by certain school-boys in 1888 on their return from the Sonepur fair, where they had heard "revivalist" lectures. It certainly repudiates the Darbhanga Sabha's interference, and regards itself as under that of Nagpur, whence they have occasionally sought advice.

The President of the Darbhanga Sabha is the Maharaja, and he has lately been addressed by the Nagpur Sabha with a request to accept the Presidency of all sabhas through Bihar, the North-West and Central Provinces, but this matter is still in abeyance. He has a good deal of power and subscribes Rs. 600 per annum. The meetings are frequently held in his private office. Babu Talapati Singh, his Private Secretary, is the

---

3 It will be observed that the Magistrate of Musaffarpur reported these sabhas as of recent origin, but the Magistrate of Darbhanga is probably right.

Vice-Chairman, and the latter's brother "Lalu Babu" (himself formerly Vice-Chairman) is a nominal subscriber of Rs. 200 per annum. The Secretary was until recently Babu Kali Pada Banerji, headmaster of the Dalton School, and the Assistant Secretary who did almost all the work, was Lal Singh, a clerk in the post office. In August, however, the former resigned and the latter was transferred, while Babu Ramdhani Lal, Assistant Government Pleader, formerly a zealous supporter, has of late ceased to take an active part in the movement.

At Dalsingserai the late Narhan zamindar subscribed Rs. 50 annually; at Rosera the Vice-Chairman of the Muncipality is the President, and another trader the Secretary, but Biseswer Marwari is the real leader. The Tezpur branch is largely supported by subscriptions from the traders of Somastipur.

The Presidents of the Madhubani Sabha are Babus Durga Dut Singh and Harakhdhari Singh, zamindars. The work is done by two Secretaries Lal Bihari Lal, Mukhtear, and Mohabir Pershad, second teacher of the Middle Vernacular School. The latter does most of the work and is described as a very able man, conducting the affairs of the Sabha in an extremely businesslike way. Besides Sitamarhi, the Madhubani Sabha has a branch at Partabganj in Bhagalpur, while another branch was opened at Pandoal, but failed, and efforts have recently been made to open another at Phulpras. Dalsingserai has also attempted to open a branch at Mow, but this too failed.

Section B. *Activity of the sabhas; their emissaries or preachers; distribution of pictures and pamphlets; collection and distribution of funds.* The societies can be described as most active in Saran, Darbhanga and Shahabad. There has been a lull in Muzaffarpur and Motihari. Patna has never been active, and in Gaya, as already mentioned, the movement has

for the time being come to a stop. The most energetic sabhas, and those which travel most beyond legitimate aims, appear to be those of Chapra, Darbhanga, Madhubani and Sitamarhi.

The question of emissaries and preachers is complicated by the presence in every district of foreign agitators, chiefly from Benares and its neighbourhood as well as of hordes of wandering sadhus, sometimes in gangs of a hundred or more, all of whom preach cow-protection and anti-kine-killing doctrines and receive subscriptions for the purpose, but do not appear to be directly under the orders of the local Gaurakshini Sabhas, which also have their own paid preachers (Brahmins) and collectors.

In Gaya the principal foreign visitors were Sriman Swami in 1889, Hansas Swarup Swami in 1891[4], Pandit Jagat Narain in 1892, and Gopalanand Swami in 1893 (this agitator appeared in Gaya shortly before the Bakar Id, but was turned out by the Gaurakshini Sabha itself as soon as his identity was discovered). The principal local preachers are Pandit Ajudhia Misir of Aurangabad and Dahu Bhagat and Gopi Bhagat Ahirs. Mr. Macpherson's report in original is attached as Appendix B. In Saran the foreign preachers have been Jagat Narain in 1888 and every year since; Kishori Lal of Allahabad in 1890. In 1893 they were Ram Golam Pandit of Sikandrapur, district Ballia, Amar Path of Pindi police-station Salimpore in Gorakhpur, Jagdeo Bahadur of Nagra in Ballia, Hemnath Pandit of Hardwar, Mahabir Upadhya of Gorakhpur and Gobind Das alias Powari Baba of Baikantpur in Gorkahpur. A list of principal sadhus has been sent to the Inspector-General of Police by the District Superintendent. The chief local men are Non Singh Chaubi, Tarpisir Misir of

---

4 An outline history of this man furnished by Col. Ramsey, District Superintendent of Police, Muzaffarpur is annexed (see page 368).

Kisanpali, Subatpath Pandit of Darauli, Har Kisai Singh, Baldeo Singh, Deonarain Singh, Jagrup Singh, and Rameswar Singh of Kisanpali and the man Ram Charan Pare or Chuni Lal already mentioned.

The following persons have harboured or assisted the foreign preachers, viz.: Baba Durga Prasad, late Government Pleader, Janki Prasad, and Bal Govind Prasad, zamindars of Mairwa, and the Rani of Majhauli.

The Collectorate Sarishtadar at Chapra is also believed to receive them. In Shahabad the only foreign emissaries reported are Gopalanand Swami and a certain Deokenandan Tiwari, a paid preacher of the Ballia Sabha. It has also been ascertained that Hansas Swarup of Muzaffarpur has visited Jagdispur and preached there some three months ago. No names of local preachers are given. The agitation is believed to be carried on chiefly by means of *patras* circulated from hand to hand. Jagdeo Bahadur recently appeared near Dumraon, but was at once arrested with the assistance of the Dewan, and in due course handed over to the North-Western Provinces authorities.

In Champaran the chief men are reported by Mr. Gibbon to be Sriman Swami (1888) and the Powari Baba of Baikantpur in Gorakhpur, and more lately Ganga Narain Bhattacharjya (who, however, confined himself to non-contentious religious matters) and Rup Narain Pande of Ballia. This man was visited by the Babus of Bargaon and Domaria in Bettiah. He is now living with his uncle Adit Pande and is under police supervision. Within the past six weeks Ram Charan Pare alias Chuni Lal (of Saran) has made his appearance, and though nothing suspicious is apparent in his movements, there was quite recently an unusual circulation of pamphlets against the sale of kine to butchers and others. In Muzaffarpur the chief foreign visitor has been Ram Charan Pare with Seo Govind

Upadhaya, preacher, Baldeo Pare, collector, and Sarat Tiwari, cowherd, all of Saran. The head of the local preachers is Bindhyachal Prasad alias Hansas Swarup Swami (see Appendix C). It is not known who harbours these men. Ram Charan and his following put up in the dharamshala.

Patna does not appear to have been professionally visited by any foreign agitators. The city sabha employs the following paid preachers: Chota Lal of Patna, Mohabir Pare of Arrah, Ganesh Das of Benares and a Gaya Brahmin name unknown.

In Darbhanga the chief visitors have been:

(i) Ala Ram Swami, who has visited the district several times and usually stays with the road cess head clerk.

(ii) Jagat Narain, who usually stays with mahajans at Kaliasthan.

(iii) Ambica Datt Viyas, a school pandit of Bhagalpur.

(iv) Madan Mohan Mallani, High Court Pleader, Allahabad.

(v) Kumar Krista Prasanna Sen, Sanyasi.

(vi) Bindhyachal Prasad alias Hansas Swarup Swami of Muzaffarpur (whose history will be found in Appendix C).

(vii) Maksudan Achari of Chapra, who visited the district recently, but was coldly received.

The Darbhanga Sabha has given up employing preachers for two years past, but recently advertised for one, to receive Rs. 30 per mensem: the only applicant was a Muhammadan, Sher Ali of Azamgarh. There are, however, readers (of the Ramayan and Bhagwat) in every mahalla of the town.

It appears all the above preachers get Rs. 50 or Rs. 60 per visit (save Ala Ram Swami who takes nothing), and that they have much influence. The chief local agitators are Pandit Ram Anugrah Tribedi of Madhubani (who is also the chief of the Sitamarhi Sabha) and Bhubanessar Misir, a would-be pleader and correspondent of the *Bangabasi*.

The distribution of pictures and pamphlets is largely car-

ried on by the regular preachers and servants of the sabha; and the sadhus also carry pictures and occasionally circulate hand-bills. Under this head also come the anonymous "*patras*" or "*chitties*," which are circulated from hand to hand with injunctions to each recipient to make a specified number of copies (usually five) and send them on to as many villages.

In Gaya a certain number of pamphlets have been circulated, all printed at Benares or Nagpur. They do not appear to be inflammatory or objectionable. A picture of a cow with Hindu gods stamped all over its body was found shortly before the Bakr Id (this is evidently the same as was found in Darbhanga and Motihari. It may be noted that the place of printing is not recorded thereon, as required by section 3, Act XXV of 1867). No mention is made of "*chitties*."

Two pamphlets circulated in Saran are appended as Appendix E. Innumerable "*chitties*" are also circulated in this district, and a translation of one of them, forbidding Hindus to join in the Muharram and Telis or Gonds to supply Musalmaans, has already been submitted.

In Shahabad no pamphlets or pictures have been found, but "*chitties*" in very large numbers have been circulated from Ballia and adjoining districts. I enclose an abstract translation of ten of them intercepted in the Bhabua thana.

Champaran reports having seized five books from Rup Narain Pande. The books are inoffensive, but the picture, a cow stamped with images of gods, also contained a representation of a Musalmaan advancing to slay the cow and Hindu beseeching him to refrain. A number of *"chitties"* are believed to be in circulation, but none have been intercepted and nothing is known as to their author or sources.

No inflammatory book, pamphlets or pictures are known to be in circulation in Muzaffarpur or Patna.

In Darbhanga there has been a very considerable quantity of literature issued by the Madhubani Sabha or imported from Bankipore, Gaya and Benares, where the presses seem to be pretty freely employed. The *Hindustan* and *Gansewak* newspapers circulate to some exent. The latter (published by Parbhu Dyal) is described as inflammatory, controversial, quoting Muhammadan opinion against cow-slaughter and advising Musalmaans to agitate against the slaughter of pigs. A large picture of a cow similar to that found in Champaran and Gaya, and of which Mr. LeMesurier has also seen a coloured copy in Muzaffarpur, was also circulated with it. This mater is now under enquiry. In Darbhanga itself there are two presses: (i) Raj and (ii) Union. The former does the work of the Darbhanga Sabha, but there seems to have been very little of it; the proprietor of the latter, a District Board employee, has supplied a list of circulars printed for the Darbhanga and Sitamarhi Sabhas; those for the latter being of a decidedlly inflammatory nature. Specimens are appended. At Madhubani the Pandit composes a number of pamphlets dedicated to the Madhubani Babus, the nature of which, to judge from the translation of one appended to Mr. Mullick's note, is decidedly objectionable.

My attention has been drawn to the fact that at least some of these circulars and pamphlets do not contain the particulars required by section 3, Act XXV of 1867, and I am about to issue a circular to district officers on the subject.

Collection and distribution of funds. The methods adopted seem to be the same in all cases. Originally the subscriptions appear to have been voluntary; but as the societies became more firmly established, a regular assessment was made upon all Hindus. Every head of a family was required, before partaking of a meal, to set aside one "*chutki*" of food for each member of the family; traders were required to set aside one

pice out of every hundred turned over in their business, and donations were required at marriages, feasts, or on winning a case. Officers in some districts called sabhasads, in others muharrirs, tahsildars or piyadas were enjoined to collect the subscriptions, and refusal to pay them was punished by religious penalties, the curse attendant on eating cow's flesh. Besides this, subscriptions were invited from the large zamindars (these amounts are usually paid into the sabha direct) and collections were made by the preachers from their audience, and in tin-boxes (with the cow painted on them) which are put up in various conspicuous places, bazars, post-offices, bunniahs' shops, and so on.

Besides this, the sadhus make collections, but, it is believed, for the most part either embezzle the money themselves or remit it to unknown persons. Indeed, embezzlement is admitted by Jagdeo Bahadur, one of their leaders in the Azamgarh and neighbouring districts, who recently made a statement to the police there. It is therefore unlikely that the local Gaurakshini Sabhas make much by this source. The gaushalas make a little income from the sale of the manure and the fee (four annas in Patna) charged for the services of the bulls.

In the opinion of all officers there is much waste and embezzlement in the collections. The expenditure of the Gaya Sabha is estimated at Rs. 370 per mensem, and the four sabhas in Shahabad are believed to have an annual income of about Rs. 3,000 each. No figures are obtainable regarding the sabhas at Chapara, Bettiah or Patna, but the means of the latter must be considerable judging from the size and substantial build of its gaushala. The Magistrate of Muzaffarpur found that at Sitamarhi the expenditure was Rs. 900, and the balance in hand over Rs. 1,700. He also remarks that the expenditure on salaries was much greater than on maintenance of cattle.

It may on the whole be safely assumed that the income is very much larger than the expenditure, and that, while a good deal of it sticks to the fingers of the collecting staff, whether paid servants of the sabha or the irregular sadhus, there is a large sum available for other than the professed objects of the sabhas. In fact the Magistrate of Saran reports that at a recent meeting of the Chapra Sahba it was announced that the money would be spent for the defence of persons accused in cattle rescue cases, and that apparently a considerable sum is so spent and in writing to the vernacular and other papers on the subject. It is also believed that contributions are made to the Central Committee at Allahabad, as in the case of the late Maharaja of Bettiah's donation of Rs. 2,000, but on this point there is as yet no information worth speaking of. The Magistrate of Darbhanga has been able to furnish very exact figures of income and expenditure for both the Sadr and Madhubani Sabhas. The former's income has fallen from Rs. 4,058 in 1891 to Rs. 1,047 for the first half of this year, but the expenditure is well within income, and a considerable balance is invested; while both this Sabha and Madhubani (income Rs. 1,200, expenditure Rs. 620, balance invested Rs. 1,500) are managed with great ability and in a most business-like manner by their respective Secretaries. The methods appear to be the same in all districts and have been already described. The only other feature requiring comment is the extent to which Government servants have supported the movement. Thus at Gaya, the Deputy Collector and a Munsif were successively Vice-Presidents. At Chapra the Collectorate Sharistadar receives the preachers and a Collectorate muharrir clears the subscription boxes; while at Madhubani out of Rs. 18-13, total monthly subscriptions, over Rs. 10 are contributed by the sub-divisional amlah. The Education and Postal departments' subordinates also largely take part in the move-

ment, while in almost all districts the Government pleaders have been among the first to join.

SECTION C. *Paragraph 3 of the circular under reply.* Beyond the fact that subscriptions have been got up by Muhammadans in several districts for defraying the expenses of their co-religionists in the late Hilsa case, no organisation on their part in connection with the ant-kine-killing movement has come to my notice.

Conciliation panchayets (paragraph 5 of the Circular). All the reports I have received are unanimous in deprecating this idea. It is pointed out that on the question of principle the Hindus will not give way; they absolutely refuse in any way to acknowledge the slaughter of kine to be tolerable, and while the Musalmaans are perfectly ready and willing (at least the educated classes) to meet the Hindus half way and agree to any reasonable restrictions on indiscriminate public slaughter, they naturally will not give up their right to sacrific kine or eat beef. The only result of mixed panchayets would, therefore, be a deadlock and increased bitterness of feeling on both sides. I quote the following remarks by Mr. Hare, "I do not think it would be any use in this district to form panchayets, certainly not in the villages in most of which the Musalmaans form an inconsiderable minority. The points to which it is proposed to direct attention do not require regulating in this district.... I think if the Hindus were willing to limit their demands to these points, the movement would not be at all dangerous. I believe that though they do not say so openly, they would not be satisfied with anything less than total prohibition of killing kine."

My own views in regard to this matter are entirely in accord with those of the district officers. I think that any general attempt in the present state of tension to bring the two parties to an amicable agreement would prove abortive. At the same

time I think that a public expression of opinion by Government that the matters mentioned in clauses (a),(b), and (c) of paragraph 5 of the Government circular under report need attention, accompanied by an injunction to district officers to take action in this regard under section 144 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, whenever the circumstances of any particular case require it, would probably have a good effect. Necessarily, in dealing with a question of the kind, the Magistrate would consult the wishes of the local leaders on each side, so that in effect the object of Government would be thus indirectly secured without the parties themselves being brought into collision with each other.

SECTION D. *Special measures that have been or should be adopted to preserve the public peace (paragraph 6 of the Government letter).* It has been made a regular and invariable practice, wherever there has been a cow-killing or other religious riot, to quarter additional police upon the villages concerned under section 15, Act V of 1861. This has been done in ten cases in Gaya, two in Patna, and more recently at Koath in Shahabad, while proposals for a force to be stationed at Basantpur are now under the consideration of Government. I am firmly persuaded of the advantage that quiet, far reaching executive action of this kind has either by itself or as a supplement to criminal prosecutions. These are of course unavoidable when the offenders are caught *flagrante delicto*; otherwise they should in my opinion be avoided as far as possible. They are proverbially uncertain in their results, hold up individuals as martyrs and add fuel to the prevailing agitation. It is much better, I submit, that under the circumstances Government should show its strength in a manner that cannot be gainsaid than that it should only offer the courts as an arena for a public conflict with persons whose seditious doings cannot often be made the subjects of judicial proof.

Besides the above measures, the police reserves have been considerably increased by drafts from other districts, and a special reserve of 50 armed men has been posted in each of the following districts, viz, Gaya, Shahabad, Champaran, Saran and Muzaffarpur, while a company of the Military police has been transferred from Bhagalpur to Bankipore. Reports from all sides show that this show of preparedness on the part of the authorities has everywhere restored confidence and had a very pacifying effect.

As regards the legislative measures that should still be taken towards the preservation of the public peace, I beg to refer to the confidential memorandum submitted by me to Government on the 23rd instant.

SECTION E. *Summary.* It will be seen from the foregoing that the earliest attempt to found "cow protection" societies goes back to 1885 (Darbhanga), and that such were actually started at Gaya and Chapra in 1887. The most important year, however, was 1888, when almost all the districts were visited by either Sriman Swami, Pandit Jagat Narain or Ala Ram Swami, advantage being taken also of the Sonepur fair to raise enthusiasm by lectures on the subject. The result was the opening of new sabhas at several district headquarters, while the existing ones were reorganised. At the same time they lost their voluntary character and arrogated a right to levy subscriptions, or rather cesses, from all Hindus under threat of caste penalties. With the funds thus obtained, gaushalas were built and preachers sent out supplied with handbills and pamphlets to collect funds and start other branches. Their efforts in the latter direction appear to have been chiefly successful in Gaya, Darbhanga, and Muzaffarpur. The same year is believed to have been that of the first appearance of the hordes of "cow preaching" sadhus, by whom the agitation is now chiefly fanned, and the destination of whose

collections is not yet clearly explained.

The following year and 1890 seem to have been marked by lessening activity, and in several cases (notably Gaya) the societies have been remodelled and new office bearers appointed.

Early in 1891 came the cow rescue riot ar Behrampur in Shahabad, and a little later that in Gaya town. It seems that Hansas Swami *alias* Bindhyachal Pershad began to come into notice as an anti-kine killing agitator in this and the preceding year. Several rural sabhas were opened in the mufassal of Gaya.

The year 1892 was quiet save for a small riot at Fatuha in Patna and two or three cattle rescue cases in Gaya during the Bakr Id, but there was much uneasy feeling.

The second quarter of 1893 was marked by a serious riot near Masaurdhi in the Patna district, followed closely by seven or eight bad riots in different parts of the Gaya district. Then followed the Hilsa riots at the Bakr Id, and in the end of August that at Koath in Shahabad, followed a week later by the Bala riot and the attack on the Basantpur thana in Saran.

It was clearly established in several of these cases, notably those in Gaya and at Basantpur, that the emissaries and preachers of the Gaurakshani Sabhas as well as the sadhus had been inflaming public opinion, and thus directly led to the outbreaks, and the same influence is borne out by the literature published by the societies, notably that of Madhubani, whilch contains direct incitement to Hindus to forcibly rescue kine. It also appears that "*chitties*" or "*patras*," apparently anonymous but purporting to be issued by authority of well-known Gaurakshani leaders, had been secretly circulated in large numbers calling upon Hindus to cease the sale of cattle to strangers, to abstain from attending the Muharrum, and generally to shun or even boycott the Musalmaans on the ground

that the latter slaughter kine. In some cases the sabhas have subscribed money for the defence of those arrested for complicity in the riots.

The total number of existing sabhas in the division is 23, distributed as follows:

Gaya	8	Muzaffarpur	3
Shahabad	4	Saran	1
Champaran	1	Patna	2
Darbhanga	4		

Of these, exclusive of Gaya, where all the societies have temporarily become defunct, the most important and active are Sasaram in Shahabad, Chapara in Saran, Sitamarhi in Muzaffarpur, Darbhanga and Madbubani in Darbhanga.

Specimens are attached of the literature circulated by these societies or by the wandering Sadhus, as well as of the *patras* or *chitties* above alluded to.

It has already been explained that subscription to these societies is not voluntary, but is levied as if it were a tax under heavy penalties, and it is therefore certain that the income must be considerable. Owing to the want of any legal power by the Magistrates to investigate the working and accounts, it has in most cases been found impossible to calculate even approximately the income and expenditure of each branch. but in the few cases where accounts have been obtained, it has been found that the income far exceeds the expenditure even allowing for speculation and very large establishments. A question thus arises as to the disposal of the surplus, and on this subject no information is forthcoming. This is still more the case with the money collected by the sadhus.

The names of emissaries and preachers have been given in the body of the report. The principal organisers appear to be Sriman Swami, Alaram Swami, Pandit Jagat Narain and Hansas Swarup Swami; while the appearance of Gopalanand

Swami and Jagdeo Bahadur is usually the precursor of a riot.

I have been unable to procure all the information I should have wished regarding the wandering sadhus, and Mr. LeMesurier, on special duty, will be directed to make further enquiries into this part of the subject. It is believed that these men are controlled by some as yet unknown agency, though doubtless religious vanity and the desire of making money have much to do with their activity. It is the uniformity of their action in places where riots have occurred that lends plausibility to the theory that they act under control of some organiser; thus the proximate cause both of the Basantpur riots is found to have been the same as that of those at Ballia, namely the annoucement by certain sadhus, followers of the great Powari Baba of Baikantpur in Gorakhpur, that they could neither eat nor drink till the kine were rescued. It is to be observed also that a market day is not infrequently selected for the commission of a preconcerted riot. This was the case both at Koath and at Basantpur. The mart gives cover to the illegal assembling of the conspirators and affords a plausible excuse for their presence, if caught. Possibly also the promoters look for recruits from among the persons attending the market, though at Basantpur this does not appear to have been the case.

I have not found any evidence of the holding of courts for the trial of offenders against the societies' rules. But, as I have already remarked, these societies have long ceased to be voluntary associations, and their subscriptions are collected in the form of a tax by a system of religious intimidation which is quite inconsistent with individual liberty. It would also appear that the power of summoning panchayats to try erring "brothers" and of punishing their offences by fine or outcasting is claimed. I do not, however, find any prohibition of impounding cattle in a Government pound (though, I believe.

general decrease in pound revenue may have something to do with this).

I may also mention that it has been ascertained by the North-Western Provinces Police that, after the seizure of papers in Ballia, the records of almost all other societies have been destroyed, and the information at our disposal is therefore very much less than it would otherwise have been.

P.S.: I forward herewith the following enclosures:-

A. Mr. Gibbon's note. (see page 408)
B. Mr. Macpherson's report (enclosure Mr. Harris' report).
C. Mr. Williams' report (including a note by Mr. Mullick on the Madhubani Sabha).
D. Outline history of Hansas Swarup Swami *alias* Bindhyachal Pershad.
E. Specimens of Gaurakshani literature-
   (i) from Darbhanga;
   (ii) from Saran;
   (iii) abstract translation of *patras* circulated in Shahabad.

ENCLOSURE (i)

Dated Gaya, the 8th October 1893.
From: D.J. MacPherson, Esq., Magistrate of Gaya,
To: The Commissioner of the Patna Division, Bankipore.

With reference to the Bengal Government's confidential circular No. 67J.D., dated the 8th ultimo, forwarded to me with your demi-official letter of the 12th idem, I have the honour to enclose a report received from the District Superintendent of Police on the history of the movement against kine-killing and the formation of Gaurakshini Sabhas in the district of Gaya, and to supplement it by the following report,

which is based upon what is within my own knowledge and on information which has just been placed at my disposal by Deputy Magistrate, Babu Ram Anugrah Narayan Singh, who has been doing good service of late in inducing his co-religionists to exercise moderation in the prosecution of the legitimate objects of the movement.

History of the movement in Gaya and of the Gaya Gaurakshni Sabha. Collection of funds and Expenditure of funds

2. The movement was started in this district with the formation of a Gaurakshini Sabha at Gaya in 1887 by Babu Bhikhari Shankar Bhattachariya, a domiciled Bengali zamindar living in the town, but it attracted very little attention for a considerable time. Its objects appear to have been then perfectly legitimate and indeed humane and laudable. The movement received a great impetus from a visit paid to the district by Sriman Swami in the beginning of 1889. This agitator delivered a number of lectures inculcating reverence for the cow, not only on religious, but on economic grounds; and at that time there does not appear to have been much to find fault with the tone of his addresses. Indeed, a Muhammadan of some standing, Maulvi Kamaruddin Ahmed since dead, gave his adhesion to the movement about this time. The result was the foundation, on 15th October 1889, of a large gaushala or asylum for cattle under the management of the Gaya Gaurakshini Sabha on the other side of the river from Gaya, on a site presented by the late Raja Ram Bahadur Singh of Tikari. Agents were then appointed to go about the district inculcating the neccessity of taking care of cows and the improprietary of selling them to butchers, and collecting contributions in support of the asylum at Gaya. Every Hindu household was directed to set apart for the purpose at each

meal one *chutki* of food per head (equivalent in weight or value to one paisa), and partaking of food without doing so was declared to be a sin equal to that of eating beef. Traders and shopkeepers were required to realize one pice in the rupee on all sales and on payments made to employees. On occasion of family rejoicing or when a case is won in court, persons who take much interest in the movement have been setting apart two or three rupees for the Gaurakshini funds. Some money-lenders contribute a certain percentage on the interest they receive. Small collection boxes were placed at shops and in other places to which the public resort. The principal zamindars are believed to have contributed comparatively little. The collections were made over to the itinerant Gaurakshini agents, and these in turn made them over to the accountant and curator of the asylum at Gaya, but in 1890 the funds dwindled, and it was found that they were being embezzled. The Gaya Gaurakshini Sabha was thereupon reorganised under the supervision of Babu Baldeo Lal, a pleader, who was apointed Vice-President. His predecessors in that office – Babus Indra Narayan Chakrabarti, Junior Government Pleader, Raj Kishore Narain Singh, Deputy Collector, and Brij Mohan Parshad, Munsif – appear to have taken little active interest in looking after the affairs of the society. Since Babu Baldeo Lal's appointment regular accounts have been kept, the monthly income and expenditure in 1891 and 1892 being about Rs. 300, or about treble what it was before that and during the current year it has risen to about Rs. 370. The income has been expended in supporting a large number of cattle at the asylum, keeping up an establishment for looking after them and for collecting contribution in the mufassal and carrying out the annual *Gopashtmi* celebrations. The Sabha does not appear to have spent its funds in the conduct of cases in Court in 1891 or in the current year, for these

funds were raised independently. The accountant of the society and curator of the asylum is one Mahabali Bajpai, an up-Country Brahmin.

Development of Agitation.

3. As already stated, the movement received a special impetus from the preaching of Sriman Swami in the beginning of 1889. During the Bakr Id of that year an isolsted attempt was made by the Brahmins of Kabar in Tikari thana to prevent the sacrifice of kine by their Muhammadan neighbours, but it speedily subsided with the appointment of the leading Hindus as special constables; and the occurrence has not been connected with any special activity on the part of anti-kine-killing agitators. In 1891 the question came into great prominence in consequence of a serious riot which occurred in the town of Gaya on the occasion of the Bakr Id. The District Superintendent decribes this as due to objections raised by one Maina Pandit to the intended sacrifice of cow in the house of a Muhammadan neighbour of his; but the proximate cause of the riot was a delibrate and ostentatious parading by some evildisposed Muhammadans through a strictly Hindu quarter of a cow destined for sacrifice after a Muhammadan Deputy Magistrate had induced the Pandit's neighbour to agree to substitute goats for a cow. I mention this point because it marks a result which is always to be feared when an agitation springs up that seeks to interfere with the customary privieges of a powerful section of the community. A disposition to retaliate is engendered which is not only fraught with danger to the public peace, but tends, if unchecked, to intensify the very evils the movement was started to repress. The consequence in this case was much tension of feeling between the two communities, which was not allayed until the leaders on both sides came to an agreement under which the cow that had been

paraded was purchased for a very large sum of money and sent to the gaushala at Gaya, where it still is. Although an attempt to gain notoriety and consideration had probably more to do with Maina Pandit's objections on this occasion than any action of the Gaurakshini Sabha, there can be no doubt that in spite of an outward reconciliation among the leading citizens, the occurrences of 1891 gave a considerable impetus to the anti-kine-killing agitation, and at the same time engendered a disposition to resent its interference among the lower orders of Muhammadans, who eat beef instead of goat's flesh on the grounds of economy. This, coupled with the pressure of the high price of food upon the lower orders in 1892, caused considerable apprehension in the minds of the peaceable portion of the community that disturbances would break out at the Bakr Id of that year: but special precautions were taken by bringing in the Bhagalpur Military Police and warning the people that the slightest attempt at disturbance would be followed by the quartering of an expensive body of additional police upon the city. Everything in consequence passed off peaceably, but there were two or three cases of interference in the various parts of the district, which, however, led to no disturbances of a serious character. To all appearances, the agitation calmed down after that; but there was a sudden recrudescence of it in an overt form in the end of March of this year which was only put a stop to by the quartering of additional police in almost all the centres where disturbances occurred. This is to be attributed principally to the inflammatory language used by the petty agents of the various Sabhas who were sent to the various cattle fairs held at the season to collect subscriptions and induce the people not to sell cows to Muhammadans. Minor sabhas had been started at several places in the interior, principally in the western half of the district, before that, and the results that ensued are probably

in no small measure due to the ignorance and bigotry of the people among whom they were established. I have been informed that the establishment of these sabhas in the western part of the district is to a great extent the outcome of the preaching of a Pandit of the Ranchi zillah school all about Aurangabad about a couple of years ago. They were quite independent of the Gaya Sabha.

Present strength of the movement.

4. Since it was perceived that the agitation was assuming a dangerous form and that the leading spirit in the management of the various Gaurakshini Sabhas were likely to be held responsible for the exceses it was leading to, all the office-bearers of the Gaya Sabha have resigned, and its gaushala is looked after by the accountant and curator, Mahabali Bajpai, and the baniahs who subscribe largely to the fund; no fresh executive has been elected as yet, and, as will be seen from the District Superintendent's report, the Sabha is very inactive at present, and about a month ago it refused to admit a cow and a bullock that had been taken from a butcher. The sabhas in the interior likewise used to have executive office-bearers, but these also withdrew some time ago, and the sabhas are not receiving much support now. For the present there is little or no agitation going on in the district of Gaya; but it is suspected that there are still influences at work elsewhere which may re-act on this district yet. There can be no doubt, however, that the movement in its aggressive aspects is discredited by the better classes in this district at present, and certainly no efforts have been spared to convince the Hindus of the folly and danger of prosecuting any active propaganda and the Muhammadans of the punishment that swaits any one who wantonly disregards the religious feelings of others in this matter.

Counter-agitation among Muhammadans.

5. No attempt at any concerted counter-agitation among the Muhammadans has been noticed in this district, but any extensive and serious interference with them would very likely lead to something of the kind among the lower orders, who would undoubtedly suffer considerably if their supply of beef were cut off, and I do not think that if that contingency were to arise Mullahs would be wanting who would encourage them.

Number and constitution of Gaurakshini Sabhas.

6. The District Superintendent has furnished information as to the number and constitution of the Gaurakshini societies, but the principal persons mentioned by him have severed their connection with them, though of course still sympathizing with the movement in its more legitimate aspects.

Preachers and Emissaries.

7. As regards preachers and emissaries the District Superintendent has mentioned the visits of Sriman Swami early in 1889, of Hans Sarup Swami in 1891, and of Sriman Jagat Narayan in 1892. Gopalanand Swami also visited Gaya in disguise shortly before the Bakr Id this year; but as soon as his identity was discovered the Gaurakshini Sabha, at whose gaushala he put up, turned him out of the district after he had been only a week in it and without delivering any lectures. Sriman Swami is considered by all to be the fountain head of the agitation generally, and his speeches are said to have an inflammatory tendency. Gopalanand Swami is also regarded as a dangerous character. Pandit Jagat Narayan (editor of the cow-protection paper published at Benares) and Hans Sarup Swami (formerly a Kayasth of the name of Bindhyachal Parshad of Chandwara in Muzaffarpur), though enthusiastic

preachers, are not such fire-brands as these. The principal local preachers are Pandit Ajodhya Misra, of Jamhoa in Aurangabad, and two Ahirs, Dahu Bhagat and Gopi Bhagat, who live near the Barakar hills (14 miles north of Gaya) and Barachatti (25 miles south-east of Gaya) respectively. I am not aware of any person in particular who ever harbours these men. It is at cattle fairs that the two Ahirs have been most mischievous. I am led to understand that they are in league with the Ahirs of Piru thana (Lathair village) and Dhangain thana in the Shahabad district. They have not been very active of late. I have heard a good deal about the injury which has been done to the movement by the way the Goalas have taken it up from mercenary motives. It is stated that they get rid of old and useless cows of their own by bringing them to the asylums on the allegation that they have paid dearly to purchase them from butchers; and they saw that the asylums would likewise relieve them of the expense of maintaining their old and useless cows.

Pamphlets, &c.

8. The pamphlets that have been circulated in the district have come from Benares and Nagpur, at both of which places a cow-protection paper is published. There has, I believe, been nothing very objectionable or inflammatory in them; but they have had some effect on the ignorant classes: a pictorial representation of a cow with Hindu deities all over its body was found in the district before last Bakr Id; but it is not known where it emanated from.

Method of allaying local tension of feelings.

9. With regard to the formation of mixed panchayets in villages where there is tension of feeling between the two communities, I agree in the opinion expressed by Mr. Harris that

little practical good would result from these. If any dispute arose as to whether cattle should be slaughtered in a particular place or by a certain individual, and the authorities were appealed to, it might be advisable for the Magistrate to get a few of the leading members of each community together to settle what should be done; but a standing mixed committee might, I fear only lead to factious interference with the general affairs of the community, and perhaps constitute a standing invitation to fomenters of disputes. I do not think it would have sufficient cohesion to last long enough to do real good, and its breaking up might be attended by squabbles in all sorts of things that might in the long run prove prejudicial to the peace of the village. The leading members of the Muhammadan community may be usefully enlisted as they were in the town of Gaya at the last two Bakar Ids in endeavouring to promote moderation among their co-religionists in respect of the matter detailed in paragraph 5 of the Government letter, but I do not believe in a mixed committee of Hindus and Muhammadns for the purpose. After all the Muhammadans are in the minority in those parts of the country where the anti-kine-killing agitation has shown much strength, and they would rather conform with the principles indicated than act in an ostentatious manner if left to themselves. Even the practice of disguising themselves as Hindus, which is said to have been resorted to by butchers since the agitation has become pronounced, though reprehensible in itself, is in a sense a confession of their helplessness and inability to run counter to Hindu prejudices. It is only when their resentment is aroused by undue intereference with practices of long standing that they evince an uncompromising disposition, and it would not then be easy to get their local leaders to exercise an effectual restraint upon them. In such circumstances there are generally faults on both sides, and the best means of mak-

ing them feel that they should excrcise mutual forbearance is to quarter additional police upon them, if as will usually be the case, both the sides are not likely to be judicially punished. If it is felt that, in the absence of extenuating circumstances, this will be the inevitable consequence of all uncompromising action resulting in an inflamed and excited state of feeling in any quarter, and that the authorities will not favour one side more than the other, in the matter, the agitation will, I think, soon lose all its dangerous features; but this result can be expected only if a fixed policy of the kind is laid down and unhesitatingly adopted in all flagrant cases. The main cause of the preservation of the peace in this last Bakar Id was the feeling that wherever there had been any highhandedness and uncalled for interference by considerable bodies of excited people, additional police had been quartered in the villages from which they principally came and the care that had been taken to convince the people that, while such interference would not be tolerated for a moment, any person who might attempt to sacrifice kine in places open to the public view or in a manner calculated to attract attention would be punished severely on the ground that in the present state of feeling on the subject, it would be treated as a deliberate or wanton attempt to wound the religious susceptibilities of others. I do not know that any measures of a special character are practicable for arranging, with reference to the circumstances of each locality, the matters referred to in paragraph 5 of the Government letter. We must, I think, trust the good sense and influence of the more enlightened portion of the community. I think the feeling is spreading among the Hindus here that the less aggresive their attitude towards kine-killing, the more likely are they to promote the legitimate object of the movement. Much harm is believed to be done by mischievously inclined Muhammadans giving out that the officers of

Government are likely to be partial to them, and by ignorant Hindus being too ready to accept this on the ground that the British are a beef-eating nation. The best way to disabuse the people of this impression is to make Muhammadans equally with Hindus contribute to the support of additional police quartered in their villages on account of local tension of feeling; and to interfere as little as possible with Gaurakshini Sabhas that can show that they confine themselves strictly to the promotion of their legitimate objects, and do not send out underlings to collect subscriptions, as these are given to advising aggressive measures. Those who look after the interests of these Sabhas should, however, be made to understand that if they give an asylum to cattle saved from salughter they will be held responsible for any tension of feeling arising in consequence. If any person purchases an animal to save it from slaughter, he should be made to look after it himself, and not send it to any asylum; all action in this respect should be the action of individuals, not of societies. Any interference with sabhas otherwise might only have the disastrous effect of giving colour to the unfounded impression that Government is more likely to support the Muhammadans than the Hindus in this matter. We should also discountenance the practice which is said to have grown up within the last couple of years, though no specific instances of it have been brought to notice, of Muhammadan butchers disguising themselves as Hindus in order to purchase cattle. Muhammadans might be warned that this will be treated as provocation should any disturbances arise when they are detected in such acts.

Special measures to meet emergencies.

10. No measures of a special kind have been taken to meet any grave emergency in this district, as all serious tension of feeling between Hindus and Muhammadans has quietened down for

the present. The district reserve force should, however, as recommended by Mr. Harris, be strengthened so as to enable us to have always in the lines some trained men with firearms; and the military police should be stationed nearer the centre of the tract where agitation has been most pronounced than Bhagalpur is. The Commissioner should also be authorised on the application of the Magistrate to send down at once by special train a company of British trops from Dinapore in the event of a disturbance occurring in or close to the town of Gaya, which, it must be remembered, has a population or over 80,000, including a large body of bigoted ruffians of the lower classes both among the Hindus and the Muhammadans.

Sufficiency of the existing law.

11. I think the existing law is sufficient to enable the executive authorities to control any agitation or local disturbance due to the movement in its present stage. The measures authorised in sections 15 and 17, Act V of 1861, should be freely resorted to wherever there is tension of feeling between the two communities. The great thing that will enable the executive authorities to control the agitation is that they should be able to make the people feel that they have the full support of Government in all action they may take within the recongnised lines, and that their acts are not liable to sudden interference in detail from highter authority in the presence of an emergency on information which, under the circumstances of the case, must necessarily be incomplete and may have emanated from an untrustworthy source.

ENCLOSURE (ii)

No. 1812, Dated Gaya, the 27th September 1893.
From: H.N. Harris, Esq., District Supdt. of Police, Gaya.
To: The Magistrate of Gaya.

With reference to the accompanying confidential circular from Government, No. 67 J.D. dated Darjeeling, the 8th September, forwarded with your endorsement of the 14th instant, of the subject of ant-kine-killing agitation, I beg to submit the following note on the subject:

1. *History of the movement.* When I joined the district on the 1st December 1888, there was very little activity about the Gaurakhshini Sabha, and one used to hear very little about it. There are no allusions to any anti-kine-killing agitation in the first volume of the Confidential Weekly Abstract issued from the Inspector-General's Office (as far as this district is concerned.) The Special Branch of the Inspector-General's Office was only started from April 1888, but from scattered allusions to the anti-kine-killing movement, it is quite evident that the agitation must have been going on for some time before the opening of the Inspector-General's Special Branch in the Lower Provinces.

During 1889 there was only one slight disturbance in this district on account of kine-killing. It occurred in July during the Bakr Id of that year at the village of Kabar in Tikari thana. Certain Brahmin residents of the village wanted to try and prevent the Muhammadans from sacrificing cattle during the Id. The leading members of the Hindus were under special police officers, and the agitation calmed down at once. There was no reason to suspect that this case was the outcome of any anti-kine-killing agitation. It was purely a sporadic case.

During 1890 there were no disturbances of any kind regarding kine-killing.

In 1891 there was no reason to apprehend any disturbances, but all of a sudden there was a row got up by some of the Hindus in Gaya (Sahibganj) chiefly through the activity of a Brahmin named Maina Pandit during the Bakr Id on account of a Muhammadan having brought a cow from Sasaram to sacrifice during the Bakr Id. A regular riot ensued in consequence which might have been a very serious affair had not the police stepped in and prevented the continuance of the row. This case which occurred on the 19 July 1891 was quite an unpremeditated riot. It was not known beforehand to any one in Gaya that the cow was going to be brought for sacrifice from Sasaram. The quarter in which Maina Pandit lives, viz., Meeraurpur, is chiefly inhabited by Muhammadans, and the pandit had lived quietly all these years without ever quarrelling openly with his Muhammadan neighbours. Although very careful enquiries were made at the time, the cause of his suddenly awakening to the fact that cattle-slaughter by Muhammadans was a thing that should be prevented was never discovered. But, as far as I was able to find out the truth, I do not think that Maina Pandit was urged to the course he took in the matter originally at the instigation of the Gaya Gaurakhshani Sabha. He may have been instigated by others, but the real truth has never been discovered as to how it was that this man came to be the prime mover of the disturbance in 1891. There were no signs of any row anywhere, and I was away at Aurangabad at the time. There had been no case of cattle-snatching reported, and as far as I recollect there had been no active propaganda of the anti-kine-killing doctrines during the year. There were no other riots or disturbances during 1891 on account of this agitation. I was on leave from the 1st September to the 8th December 1891. On

my return I found that the excitement caused by the disturbance had quieted down.

During 1892, although we anticipated a recrudescence of the previous year's disturbances there were only one or two minor cases of alleged cattle-snatching reported in the Jahanabad and Aurangabad sub-divisions. There was not the slightest attempt to try to create any disburbances in the town here or in any other part of the district.

During the current year we have had several more or less serious cases of snatching cattle out of the possession of Muhammadans by Hindus. In some cases the cattle were taken away without force or violence by the mobs of excited Hindus (armed with lathies), and in some cases actual violence was committed on the persons of the owners of the cattle. The number of all such cases this year to date is about 13 or 14 (over the whole district). Numerically there were more cases; for instance in the Bishna mela there were seven separate cases; but what is meant is, that these cattle-snatching cases occurred in 13 or 14 different places. They commenced on the 25th March with the Israur Chatti case near Deo in Aurangabad thana in which head-constable Muhamad Saddik was badly hurt and was in hospital for 20 days. I am unable to furnish any trustworthy information as to how this movement which was originally started in Gaya spread to the Aurangabad sub-districts. It has not extended to Nawada at all, and there is very little of it in the Jahanabad and Sadar subdivisions.

2. *Number and constitution of Sabhas.* There are altogether eight so-called Gaurakhshini Sabhas in the district. The Gaya Gaurakhshini Sabha was established on 15th October 1887. The leading spirit in the establishment of the Sabha was one Babu Bhikari Shankar Bhattacharji, a zamindar and resident of the Gaya old town. His elder brother Babu Durga Shankar

is Chairman of the Sadar Local Board and head of the family. On its establishment the Sabha was joined and supported by the principal Hindus of Gaya (Sahibganj) and the old town, amongst whom may be mentioned the following persons:

1. Rai Ram Narain Singh, Zamindar, President.
2. Babu Indra Narain Chakerbatty, Junior Government Pleader, Vice-President.
3. Babu Bhikari Shankar Bhattacharji, Secretary.

Besides these persons the following were styled patrons of the Society:

1. Hem Narain Gir (late) Mahant of Bodh Gaya.
2. Babu Chhote Lal Sejwar, Gayawal.
3. Babu Balgobind Sen Gayawal.
4. Babu Jadu Rai, Merchant.

The Committee composed of the following persons:-

1. Balgobind Lal, Zamindar.
2. Sahib Ram Bania, Pleader.
3. Kedar Nath, Pleader.
4. Sham Lal Bithal, Gayawal.
5. Bhaojan Lal Marwari, Merchant.
6. Pandit Bagheswari Prasad, Tribedi, Editor, Subhankar Press.
7. Pandit Baldeo Misser, Teacher, Government school.
8. Pandit Addyanand Upadhya.
9. Babu Jowahir Lal, Bania.
10. Babu Aghor Nath Pal, of the firm Messers. Mitter Pal and Company.
11. Babu Madho Lal Ahir, Gayawal.
12. Babu Jai Singh, Broker.

The seven subsidiary sabhas in the districts are as below:

Members

(i) Sakarbigha in the Jurisdiction of Belaganj outpost, thana Tikari, with 8

(ii) Gopalpur in thana Sherghatty 4
(iii) Raniganj in outpost Imamganj, thana Sherghatty 3
(iv) Aurangabad town, supported principally by the pleaders and mukhtears of the sub-division and the Maharaja of Deo 8
(v) Jamhor in Aurangabad 8
(vi) Obra in Aurangabad 4
(vii) War in Aurangabad 4

3. *Information regarding activity of these Sabhas.* At present the sabhas are very inactive, and far from adopting any aggressive attitude, the Sabhas are practically moribund. Cattle are not taken "without any question" as they used to be before at the gaushalas, and the leading Hindus of the Gaya town publicly disavow any connection with the Sabha.

4. *Presence or advent of emissaries or preachers countenanced by them.* The names of certain preachers of course can be ascertained, but they are not exclusively employed as preachers of anti-kine-killing doctrines, but rather as collectors of subscriptions from the pious and faithful which are dropped into the little tin-boxes hung up in shops all over the town and country bazar. Two pandits of Benares, viz, Hans Sarup Swami and Sriman Jagat Narain, visited the Gaya Gaurakhshini Sabha during the year 1891-92 respectively, and delivered lectures. Sriman Swami was also here in the beginning of 1889. His name appears at the top of those who presented an address to the Maharaja of Jaipur on behalf of the Gaya Gaurakhshini Sabha in January or February 1889. There have been other preachers and lecturers also on the subject of anti-kine-killing off and on during the past five years.

5. *Distribution of pictures and pamphlets.* A few pictures and pamphlets are said to have been brought from Benares and distributed by the Sabhas once only, but I recollect seeing at various times leaflets and pamphlets in Hindi and English

which were being given away at melas chiefly.

6. *Collection and distribution of funds.* As regards the collection of funds and their distribution, it is very difficult to ascertain the exact amount, as no regular accounts are actually kept and the collection is not restricted to cash realization only, but to all sorts of food-grains and other commodities put aside voluntarily in small quantities at almost all the houses, shops, and markets, &c. (in lieu of cash subscriptions in aid of the gaushalas), and they are removed periodically by the servants of the sabhas.

7. *Names of emissaries and of persons who harbour them.* I have no information as to the names of the emissaries who visited the Sabhas. The preachers and lecturers (named under heading 4) used to remain at the Gaya Gaurakhshini Goshala during their stay here.

8. *Appreciation of the strength and progress of the movement.* The aims and objects of the Gaya Gaurakhshini Sabha are set forth in Paragraphs 6,7 and 8 of the address to the Maharaja of Jaipur, and paragraphs 4,5 and 6 of the address to the Maharaja of Mysore (which are in this file) when they came here on business. The movement has had the support of Hindus of all classes from the beginning, but I believe as a phase of religions excitement it will die out here unless some unforeseen blunder in dealing with any serious disturbance by the local authorities should cause it to flare up again.

9. *Any agitation fomented or any organisation established among Muhammadans in connection with anti-kine-killing movement.* There is no agitation on the part of any Muhammadans as far as I have heard in connection with the anti-kine-killing propaganda. The Muhammadans as a class are not of a pugnacious nature down here, and I believe many of them would have no objection to join in a general agreement not to slaughter cattle at all.

With regard to the matters mentioned in paragraph 5 of the Government circular, I do not believe in the mingling of Hindus and Muhammadans on amicable panchayets for the settlement of disputes. If Government ordered the formation of such panchayats as *quasi* Courts of Arbitration for various tracts, I daresay the Committees could be got together with the aid of the police, but not much practical good would result from the appointment of such Committees. These differences must right themselves gradually as the people begin to understand that we really mean to stand neutral and punish impartially Hindus and Muhammadans who disturb the public peace. I do not believe that as far as this district is concerned that any special measures are required at present to meet any sudden emergency except to have the Special Reserve which is now quartered at Bhagalpur brought up to Bankipore, so that we can always avail ourselves of their services, and the reserve of this District Force should be strengthened so as to allow of our always having some trained men in the lines at all times ready to send out anywhere there is a threatened breach of the peace on account of cow-killing.

ENCLOSURE (iii)

To: His Highness Maharaja Savai Madhava Singh, Saheb Bahadur, O.C.S.I., Maharaja of Jeypure, Camp Gaya.

May It Please Your Highness:

We, the undersigned, Raises and gentry of the town and the members of the local Gaurakshini Sabha, hail your Highness with a hearty and cheerful welcome to this holy and historically famous city.

2. We congratulate your Highness upon boldly vindicating the Dharma of the old time-honoured Aryan institution, as

handed down by the venerable Rishies and Moonies of old, despite the attacks and ever-advancing tide of materialism under cloak and cover of the modern civilisation, and demonstrating thereby that in the midst of turmoil and bustle of the world, the inborn tendency, the craving for the inner light of the soul, is not to remain dormant.

3. Need we say that, in this age of so-called civilisation and refinement, materialism and scepticism, your Highness' visit to this holy city is sure to act on sceptic minds as an irresistible example that ought to be copied and retained, engraved as it were on the tablot of the patriot's heart.

4. Your Highness has given more than once unmistakable proof of the capacity for faith and religion as highly conducive to the development of the inner light of soul and the ever-increasing thirst for divine truths; these are not the expressions of mere sentimentalism, but the genuine outpourings of an earnest soul, the characteristic feature of which is visible in every trait of your Highness's public and private career.

5. Your Highness's causing magnficent temples to be built at Brindaban and elsewhere at considerable expense is a living testimony of your Highness' dauntless strength of mind which few possess.

6. We avail ourselves of this opportunity for bringing to your Hinghness' kind notice the existence of a Gaurakshini Sabha. though, much to our regret, in a very poor state for want of public support, inaugurated for purposes of restricting and, if possible, entirely stopping the wholesale destruction of cows and bulls carried on with increasing progression every year to the great detriment of the agricultural welfare of India, the commercial prosperity of England, the political greatness of the Empire, and the present and future well-being of the impoverished and daily growing poor peasantry.

7. The cow, owing to certain sacred associations that have

ascribed to her, is not only an emblem of fertility, but a symbol of sanctity without which no ceremony to the Hindu, whether it be the pleasurable rejoicings of a marriage festivity or the dolorous cries of lamentation of a deathbed, at home or abroad, on pilgrimage or otherwise, could ever be considered pure and holy.

8. Before concluding we earnestly commend to your Highness' indulgent consideration the cause of this noble and venerable animal, the cow, the furnisher of the most nourishing food, the fountainhead of sanctity, and the main source of national prosperity of the empire, irrespective of creed, caste, race, colour or nationality.

9. In conclusion we again welcome your Highness with all our heart to this holy and historical city, as the illustrious son of that illustrious dynasty, and of that illustrious race in which our godly king Rama took his incarnation.

Wishing your Highness all joy and happiness, long life and good health.

We beg to remain, &c.

1. Sriman Swami
2. Baijnath Singh
3. Mahabir Parshad Singh
4. Drigpall Lal.
5. Ram Narayan Singh.
6. Raj Kishore Narayin Singh.
7. Harihar Nath.
8. Indra Narayan Chakrabutty.
9. Seetal Prasad.
10. Bhikari Shanker Bhattacharjya.
11. Sam Lal Vithal.
12. Ram Gopal (Marwari).
13. Bal Gobind Lal.
14. Nagbant Sahai.
15. Umesh Chandra Sircar.
16. Gope Nath Mate.
17. Amrit Lal Paul.
18. Anant Ram Ghose.
19. Nand Lal.
20. Jogendra Nath Sen.
21. Balgobind Sen Gyawal.
22. Aghore Nath Pal.
23. Durga Shanker Bhattacharjay.
24. Chote Lal Sizwar (Gyawal).
25. Kanya Lal.
26. Rajajee Gyawal.
27. Gadadhur Shanker Bhattacharjya
28. Maulvi Qamaruddin Ahmed.
29. Jageshwar Pershad.
30. Ram Pershad.
31. Ram Narayan Sen.
32. Behari Lal Barik (Gayawal).

ENCLOSURE (iv)

An address to His Royal Highness Shri Charn Rajendra Vadayar Bahadur, O.C.S.I., Maharaja of Mysore.

[Fig. of a cow.]

May It Please Your Highness:

We the residents of Gaya and members of the Gaurakshini Sabha, hail your Highness with a hearty and cheerful welcome to this holy and historically famous city.

2. We congratulate your Highness upon boldly vindicating the Dharma of the old time-honoured Arayan institution as handed down by the venerable Rishies and Moonies of old, despite the attacks and ever advancing tide of materialism under the cloak and cover of modern civilisation, and demonstrating thereby in the midst of turmoil and bustle of the world, the inborn tendency, the craving for the inner light of the soul, is not to remain dormant. Need we say that in this age of so-called civilisation and refinement, materialism and scepticism, your Highness' visit to this holy city is sure to act on sceptic minds as an irresistible example that ought to be copied and retained, engraved as it were on the tablet of the patriot's heart.

3. Your Highness has given more than once unmistakeable proof of the capacity for faith and religion as highly conducive to the development of the inner light of soul, and the ever-increasing thirst for divine truths. These are not the expressions of mere sentimenalism but the genuine outpourings of an earnest soul, the characteristic feature of which is visible in every trait of vour Highness' public and private career.

4. We avail ourselves of this opportunity for bringing to your Highness' kind notice the existence of a Gaurakshani Sabha, though, much to our regret, in a very poor state for want of public support, inaugurated for the purposes of restricting and, if possible, entirely stopping the wholesale destruction of cows and bulls carried on with increasing progression every year to the great detriment of the agricultural welfare of India, the commercial prosperity of England, the political greatness of the Empire, and the present and future well-being of the impoverished and of daily growing poor peasantry.
5. The cow, owing to certain sacred associations that have ascribed to her, is not only an emblem of fertility, but a symbol of sanctity without which no ceremony of the Hindu, whether it be the pleasurable rejoicings of a marriage festivity, or the dolorous cries of lamentation at a deathbed, at home, or abroad, on pilgrimage or otherwise, could ever be considered pure and holy.
6. Before concluding we earnestly commend to your Highness' indulgent consideration the cause of this noble and venerable animal, the cow, the furnisher of the most nourishing food, the fountain head of sanctity, the main source of national prosperity of the Empire, irrespective of creed, colour or nationality.

Wishing your Highness all joy and happiness,

(Sd.) Bhikhari Shankar Bhattacharjya,
General Secretary and Founder of Gaurakshini Sabha
Gaya.
Baldeo Lal, B.L., Vice-Chairman,
Kedar Nath, F.T.S., Pleader and Secretary to the Sabha.
(This address was delivered to His Highness Maharaja by A. Narasim Jyengam, Durbar Bukshee, Mysore.)

ENCLOSURE (v)

Dated 18th October 1893.

From: H.C. Williams, Esq., Magistrate and Collector, Darbhanga,

To: The Commissioner of the Patna Division,

With reference to the confidential circular No. 67 J.D. from the Chief Secretary to Government of Bengal, dated the 8th September last, I have the honour, after consulting my subdivisional officers and the District Superintendent of Police, to submit the following report on the Gaurakhshini sabhas in this district, and the history of the movement against the killing of kine as far as I have been able to ascertain it.

2. I propose treating of the subject under the following heads

(a) History of the movement and its objects.

(b) The different sabhas in the district and their rules.

(c) The principal supporters of the movement and the funds, and how far Government servants are mixed up in the movement.

(d) Preachers, agitators, and their influence.

(e) Printed literature.

(f) The present state of the sabha.

Having touched briefly on these various subjects, I propose going on to the other matters mentioned in the circular under reply.

My information is not, I regret to say, quite as full as I should like. Mr. Mullick, who has been acting as Subdivisional Officer of Madhubani, has written a full and interesting note on the subject in that subdivision, which is particuarly interesting, as the Madhubani Sabha is still showing great vitality. This report I enclose in original, and should be obliged by its being returned when done with to have a copy of it made. Mr. Phillimore, Subdivisional Officer of Soamstipur, has given

but little information mainly, I conclude, because there was not much to give, and Mr. Cox has given a good deal of inforamtion in his weekly confidential reports, which I have seen and taken notes of, but of which no regular copy is kept. (2a) *History of movement.* The origin of the sudden resuscitation of the Gaurakhshini Sabhas and of the crusade against cow-killing seems to be rather doubtful, and various reasons were given me by the Maharaja of Darbhanga for its sudden bursting into activity some six or eight years ago. Starting in Allahabad and the North-Western Provinces, we find that it gradualllly spread down to Bihar, and in 1885 (23rd January) a circular was printed at the Darbhanga Raj Press and issued in Darbhanga by Bihari Pathak, who styled himself Secretary, asking for aid in support of the cows. This circular mentioned that the Maharaja of Darbhanga was President of the Sabha, but contained nothing remarkable. The District Superintendent of Police forwarded it the Inspector-General of Police on 24th September last, and I have no copy with me. The leading spirits then were Bihari and Darbari Pathak, Municipal Commissioners, but men of no special weight, and the society made but very little progress till 1888, when it was thoroughly resuscitated and started on the basis on which it at present exists. One Jagat Narayan of Benares seems to have been the leading spirit in this conversion. He gave a lecture at the temple called the Kabashtan, at which the Maharaja attended, and a new sabha was started by him. Special letters were issued and lectures sent about to induce people to subscribe, but as far as I know no circulars were issued. The letters and lectures seem to have had considerable effects, as in the course of the following two years we find sabhas were started at Lalganj, Hajipur and Sitamarhi in Muzaffarpur district, and Tajpur, Madhubani, Rosera and Dalsingserai in this district. As far as this district is concerned, the sabhas

then started continue to exist, and have all at times with more or less success tried to throw out branches from them. The objects of the movement were on the face of them harmless enough, namely, to point out that taking the lives of cattle was both contrary to their religion and harmful from an economical point of view, and that therefore money was wanted to keep sick animals, the property of poor people who could not afford to keep them themselves, and who would therefore have to sell them. With this object the pounds were started in connection with the sabhas, that at Darbhanga being a centre for animals from its outside branches, and having in addition a large pound at Rakhwari near Jhanjarpur, the land for which was given by the Maharaja. These pounds certainly seem to have flourished, as that at Darbhanga has been gradually increasing in size and now holds 200 to 300 cows, while I understand that about the same number are accommodated at Rakhwari. Cows are sent to Darbhanga from even such outlying branch sabhas as Tajpur and Dalsingserai. From the beginning preachers or upadeshaks were largely employed to perambulate through the country, and extol abroad the virtues of cattle-saving, and in the case of other sabhas at least, notably Madhubani, in this district, circulars were thrown broadcast throughout the country. From extolling the virtues of those that save the cows to declaring against the vices of those who kill them is but an easy step, and hence has arisen the flood of literature which has had and is still continuing to have such a harmful effect upon many of the districts in this part of the world. The Darbhanga Sabha and its immediate branches has in this respect been very moderate, presumably because it is under the control of the Maharaja, and I have, as already stated, been unable to find any circulars issued from here. Preachers have repeatedly come and lectured, and at times gone through the country, but lately they

have been falling off. With the exception of Madhubani, the other sabhas in this district have followed the lead of Darbhanga, and have done nothing startling. Madhubani, however, has declined to be any longer (if at all) in leading strings, and denies the right of the Darbhanga Sabha to question its acts. From it has started a fresh sabha at Sitamarhi, and it now no longer treats with Darbhanga except as an equal, in so much so that lately, when Mr. Hare, Collector of Muzaffarpur, ordered the President and Vice-President of Sitamarhi to resign, it was not to Darbhanga that the question was referred, but to Nagpur, which seems to be a great authority on the question, as it is is from that place that a request lately came to the Maharaja, asking him to be the head of all the sabhas in Bihar, the North-Western Provinces and Central Provinces. This application I may mention was not replied to, and the question has been dropped for the present. I may also mention here that lately the Nagpur sabha tried to get up a memorial to the Government of India to stop killing cattle used for agricultural purposes, but no answer was, I understand, sent from here. Elaborate rules have been drawn up for each sabha; Councils, general and special, have been appointed. Annual, quarterly and at times daily meetings are held. Accounts are as a rule strictly kept, and are at times published in the Gaurakhshini newspaper. A tehsildar is employed to collect money and to harass the backsliders. Regular establishments are kept, and in fact everything is done as far as possible in regular business style. Reverting to Madhubani again that Sabha now denies even that it had its origin from Darbhanga, and claims that it started on its own account in December 1888, some boys who had heard some pundits at Sonepur being the original creators. Probably this is not the correct statement. Anyhow, from the time of its starting up to September it had held 50 meetings. It also cel-

ebrates the anniversary of its birth, and on those occasions collects great crowds.

(b). *Different sabhas and their rules.* As stated in the preceding paragraph, shortly after the resuscitation of the Darbhanga Sabha the following branch sabhas were found in existence:-

Muzaffarpur district: Lalganj, Hajipur, Sitamarhi

Darbhanga district: Rosera, Tajpur, Dalsingserai, Madhubani.

About Lalganj and Hajipur I can give no information; Sitamarhi undoubtedly did not start from Darbhanga, but was a branch of Madhubani, but it is now separate and is managed apparently in the same clever way. Another offshoot from Madhubani is at Partapganj in the Bhagalpur district. A branch was also started at Pandowl, but this has failed, and efforts have been lately made to start another branch at Phulpras. Dalsingsari lately tried to establish a branch at Mhow, but this proved a failure. Madhubani alone is just now very active in this direction. As already stated, elaborate rules have been drawn up for all sabhas, and these in many cases are strictly followed. In Darbhanga the President, the Maharaja, has a fair amount of power. In Madhubani the Madhubani Babus Durgadut Singh and Harakhdhari Singh are Presidents, but are more so in name than reality, though their position adds importance to the sabha. The real work of course falls on the Secretaries, but of these I will speak in my next paragraph.

(c) *Principal supporters and the funds of the sabha, and the extent to which Government servants are mixed up in the movement.*

Darbhanga:

The estimated number of subscribers is 2,000. Of these the principal are:

The Maharaja	Rs. 600 (per annum)
Lalu Babu, formerly Vice-Chairman and brother of present Vice Chairman	Rs. 200 (per annum)

The latter gentleman is very hard up, and probably subscribes in name only; all the other zamindars, pleaders, traders, subscribe according to their means. If these subscriptions were volunatarily made, it would not so much matter, but there is no doubt that very many subscribe merely through fear of being "boycotted" if they do not. The Marwaris are particularly keen in supporting these institutions from their own pockets, and by levying an extra charge of one pice in the rupee from customers on goods sold contribute to the upkeep of the sabhas. Collecting boxes are also put in many shops, and throughout the district collections have been constantly going on nominally for the support of the upkeep of the cows. Some Muhammadans are also said to subscribe; a few in the town and a few at Rakhwari. These are nearly all servants of the Maharaja. The following shows the income and expenses of the Darbhanga sabha for the last two-and-a-half years:-

Year	Income (in Rs.)	Expenditure (in Rs.)
1891	4,058	2,343
1892	2,627	1,427
1893 (upto July)	1,040	741

Babu Talapati Singh, the Maharaja's Private Secretary, is the Vice-President, and looks after the accounts.

The Secretary up to the 12th August was one Kali Pado Banerjee, Head Master of the Dalton School. At that time he resigned.

The Assistant Secretary and the person who did the whole of the executive work was one Lal Singh, a clerk in the Post Office. He was transferred to Muzaffarpur in August and since

then the work has rather languished. Ramhari Lal, Assistant Government Pleader, was also a keen supporter of the movement, but for the past year he seems to have had but little to do with it.

At Dalsingserai the late Narhan zamindar subscribed Rs. 50 per annum. At Rosera the Vice-Chairman of the Municipality is the President, and another trader, the Secretary, but the ruling spirit is a Marwari, one Biseswar Marwari.

Nearly every shop-keeper in Samastipur subscries towards the sabha at Tajpur.

At Madhubanî, as already stated, the Madhubani Babus are the Presidents and contribute largely to the funds. Formerly Mewa Lal Thakur, an untrustworthy man was in that position. The Committee is composed of mukhtears, mahajans, and two school-masters, but almost the whole work is done by the second of the two Secretaries, one of whom is Lal Bihari Lal, a Mukhtear, and the other Mohabir Parshad, second teacher in the Middle Vernacular School. Both these men have abilities far above the average, and a fine capability for organisation. The former is also the principal spokesman of the party opposed to the cadastral survery; the latter keeps the sabha books in excellent order, keeps the accounts, checks the diaries of the pundits and their movements, and issues all letters. He is, as Mr. Mullick rightly states, the mainstay of the Gaurakhshini movement. Mr. Mullick's report shows clearly how Government employees subscribe to these funds, the subdivisional office clerks subscribing Rs. 10-3-9 per month out of a total of Rs. 18-13, regular subscriptions. The Madhubani Babus give besides Rs. 400 per annum. The total income per annum comes to over Rs. 1,200, and the expenditure to Rs. 620. They have at present an invested balance of Rs.1,500. I would also mention that many of the meetings of the Darbhanga sabha have been held at the private

office of the Maharaja, while the large meetings have been held under a pavilion erected in his compound; those of the Madhubani branch have been latterly held at the house of the Madhubani Babus.

From the above it will be seen that the officials have a great deal to do with these societies: not only do they contribute largely to their funds, but in both Darbhanga and Madhubani they have been the working centres, and at times they go and preach on behalf of the sabhas generally. All this should, in my opinion, be stopped at once, and any Government official found acting as Secretary, or in any way managing these societies should be at once dismissed. It will be observed that Raja Rameswar Singh, the Maharaja's brother, does not subscribe to either the Darbhanga or Madhubani Sabhas, ostensibly because he keeps up a small sabha of his own.

(d) *Preachers, agitators and their influences.* The following are the principal preachers who have visited this district:

Swami Ala Ram of Allahabad. This well-known man (*vide* Police confidential report) has been here several times. I do not know if he has been out in the district. He has again been invited to come in November, when the annual meeting of the sabha takes place on the occasion of the Gopashtami festival. He has stayed on past occasions with my Road Cess head-clerk. On his last visit he lectured at the Gorakshini. Several Muhammadans, among them Maulvi Maniralam, mukhtear, a rabid anti-Englishman, who has joined the Hindus in other agitations, were present at the time.

Jagat Narayan of Benares. Has been already alluded to as having resuscitated the sabhas. He stops with some mahajans at Kaliasthan.

Ambica Dut Viyas. A school pundit of Bhagalpur.

Madan Mohan Mallani, High Court Pleader, Allahabad.

Kumar Kristo Prosorro Sen, a Sanyasi

Bindha Chal Parshad *alias* Hansas Swami was originally an accountant under the Maharaja at Kamtowl, on Rs. 40 a month, a resident of Muzaffarpur, started a sabha, the objects of which were: (a) To impart knowledge. (b) To promote the Gaurakhshini. (c) To feed the poor.

This sabha was attached to Darbhanga, but he is supposed to have embezzled money, and the Maharaja turned him out, and now declines to see him; describes him as an untrustworthy character. He came here the other day, bringing a letter from Mr. A. Rogers, Engineer, Bengal-North-Western Railway, to the Maharaja. The address with the letter was a most extraordinary one, and I cannot understand its meaning.

Maksudan Achari of Chapra came here, and was preaching in the north-east of the district. Did not seem to be thought much of. There have of course been other preachers, but the Darbhanga Sabha has not employed any for two years, as it did not find them a success. It advertised last year for one on Rs. 30 a month, and one Sher Ali of Azamgarh applied for the post. Nothing yet settled about it. In Darbhanga itself there are readers in every mohalla, principally local men, who read the Bhagwat and Ramayan and preach no harm. At Samastipur a man comes weekly from Tajpur to preach, but his lectures are not confined to cow-killing. The above-named preachers have undoubtedly being much influence very certainly at this time. They are paid Rs. 50 or Rs. 60 a visit as a rule with the exception of Swami Ala Ram, who takes nothing. Madhubani has an energetic pundit in the person of Ram Anugrah Tribedi, who is a great agitator and a man of great influence. He has been specially active at Sitamarhi. There is also one Bhubanessar Misir at Darbhanga, who is considered very dangerous, mainly apparently because he occasionally wrote articles for the *Bangabasi*. He has also tried to get up meetings here. He professes to be an order-loving man,

but I doubt it. He is trying to become a pleader, but I have warned him I shall report him if he does not behave himself. (e) *Printed Literature.* Although we have not been in this district very successful in unearthing very many pamphlets upon inflammatory order, and have not found any with pictures of a Muhammadan cutting off a cow's head, it is evident from what has come to light what an enromous flood of ill-advised and angry literature has been thrown upon the country during the past two or three years. The general recognised organ of the movement is the paper called *Hindustan*, a daily paper printed in Hindi in Oudh by Raja Ramphal Singh, a member of the North-Western Provinces Legislative Council. The numbers of this paper which I have seen do not contain anything very startling. The *Bangabasi* of Calcutta also contains accounts of different sabhas at times. Another paper of a most objectionable kind is one called the *Goseick*, printed at Benares by one Prubhoo Dyal Barmun. The copy I saw was No. 47, dated 7th September 1893. It has apparently been going on for a year, but is rather badly off for funds. It is an inflammatory and controversial paper, though it pretends to be a lover of order. It quotes various Muhammadan opinions that cows should be saved, and also recommends Muhammadans to agitate against the slaughter of pigs. With this paper and printed at the same place was an enormous picture of a cow slowing how she is used by the different nations of the world, and how every part of her body contains some or another particular virtue, or attribute, that is, her eyes are the sun and moon; Brahma is on her back, & c. It also tells people to make arrangements for cow-salughter.

From Darbhanga itself printed circulars and pamphlets havea at times been issued from two presses, viz (i) the Darbhanga Raj press, and (ii) the Union Press. The majority of the work required for the Darbhanga sabha is, I under-

stand, printed at the Raj Press, but, as already stated, very few circulars have issued. Nothing special seems to have issued from these. The proprietor of the Union Press, a District Board Employee, has given me (what he says, and I have at present no reason to doubt it) a complete list of circulars printed by him which I forward for your information. Those relating to Darbhanga are harmless enough and were printed long ago; those relating to Sitamarhi are of very recent dates, and are decidedly of an inflammatory nature, *vide*, No. 5 and 6. There is a decided vein of compulsion on Hindus to subscribe running throughout these pamphlets. The proprietor of the press has resolved to print no more, but like all others thought there was no harm in his doing so hitherto. The most virulent circulars come from outside the district. Chapra. Arrah, and Bankipur all contribute their quota, while Batia, like Madhubani, seems to have a good deal of vitality in its sabha. As regards pamphlets issued at Madhubani itself, Mr. Mullick says that many are composed by the Pundit and dedicated to the Madhubani Babus.

All this literature cannot but have a baneful effect: it not only urges people to protect their cows, but abuses those who do not, and calls Chhatris, and others cowards for not doing so. It particularly also outcastes those who do not subscribe; hence measures to stop this must be taken.

(f) *Present state of activity, &c* . From the foregoing it will be seen that in this district the sabhas are in a very different position. In Darbhanga and its subordinate branches a controlling hand is noticeable, and beyond protecting and taking care of cows not much activity is observable. What activity there is comes principally from outside and not from inside. With the loss of Government servants there has been found great difficulty in carrying on the actual work. In Madhubani and its branches a very different state of affairs is visible. There

the Presidents are men of position, but weak, and have no control. The sabha is therefore a most aggressive one, worked, as it is, by its two Secretaries, and Mohabir Prashad should be at once removed to another place, and warned to devote himself to his legitimate work. In the district generally so far things have been very quiet. I have consulted the principal planters I have met on the subject, and hardly any have heard of any agitators or preachers about. There have been undoubtedly a few scattered cases of snatching away cattle at different intervals, but nothing serious has happened. In one or two cases I am sure the Sub-Inspector has submitted false reports, and in others the parties have compromised. These things show a generally uneasy feeling, and possibly when the harvest is over, if preachers are not tracked up unceasingly, trouble may ensure. That the relations of the two creeds are very much strained both parties admit. The Muhammadans are indignant that after remaining quiet so many years, this agitation against cow-killing should have burst out with redoubled force, and consider that, following the example of Ireland, the Hindus are trying to get everything their own way, while the Hindus have an idea that Government generally and some officers in particular are strongly inclined to favour Muhammadans, and in support of this bring forward the fact that as a rule all native subdivisional officers in Bihar are Muhammadans and not Hindus.

3. As regards agitation among the Muhammadans there is very little in this district, as, already stated, they are in such a minority. Had they been at all equal in number in Madhubani, there is but little doubt that the inflammatory circulars of the Madhubani Sabha would have led to riots there. The District Superintendent discovered two inflammatory circulars issued by Muhammadans in circulation in the town. They had been in circulation for some ten days or so, but were never re-

ported by the town Sub-Inspector, a Muhammadan. Two of the leading Muhammadans, whom I consulted, denied in *toto* having seen them. Men have been going about asking for subscriptions nominally in one or two instances for a mosque at Liverpool. Subscriptions were also asked for in aid of the Hindu rioters, but the applicants are said to have met with but scant success. The principal Muhammadans who are inclined to agitate are Muhamad Husain, Honorary Magistrate, Sakhawat Ali, Mukhtear, Walayet Husain, Physician, and Kasim Ally, Sheristadar in the Munsiff's Court.

4. With regard to the constitution of panchayats to consist of leading members of the Hindu and Muhammadan communities, I am of opinion that as far as this district is concerned at any rate, the thing is an impossibility. In large towns or villages, where the two sects meet on equal terms, something might and should be done, but this remark is not applicable anywhere in this district. Generally the Muhammadans here are in a marked minority, and not only in minority in numbers, but still more so as regards social position. Under these circumstances it is impossible, as one of the leading Muhammadans here, a respectable Mukhtear, said to me, to expect that the Maharaja would sit on a panchayat with him, or that if the positions were reversed, that he would sit with the Maharaja. Generally the Muhammadans are all much inferior, but in a few villages to the south they are well-to-do, and in them the Hindus are few and of no account. Neither the Maharaja nor any other Hindus or Muhammadans think that anything can be done in the way of panchayats.

5. We now come to consider the question of what measures of a special character (if any) should be taken to prevent disturbances and to lessen the tension and bad feelings which undoubtedly do at the present moment exist between Hindus and Muhammadans generally throughout, I fear, the greater

part of India. And before going further the fact must not be lost sight of that Government itself is very much responsible for the present state of affairs. It has permitted what is practically an immeuse political movement to spring up under its eyes quite unchecked. It has never interefered in the slightest way with the Gaurakshini Sabhas or their preachers. The Police, as far as I can see, have never been specially ordered to report about their movements, or to check them, and have taken it for granted that the higher authorites, knowing all about them, did not think it worth while to interfere, and in fact tacitly approved of the movement. Government officials of all grades have openly subscribed to the various funds, and Europeans have testified to their approval. The whole movement has been supported without any Secretary by the leading members of the Hindu faith, such as the Maharajas of Benares, Dumraon, Darbhanga, Raja Ramphal Singh and other Rajas in Oudh and the North-Western Provinces – gentlemen all on the different Councils of their various Governments. Newspapers and printing presses, the property of some of these gentlemen, have been employed to promulgate the sabhas, tenets. Taken by themselves, the theories and creed of the Gaurakhshini sabhas are simplicity itself, as equally harmless as Home Rule, socialism, free trade or any other alluring theory, which is turned into a political engine and is carried into extremes never thought of by the original founders of the creed. Not one of the original founders of the Gaurakhshini sabhas, certainly not any of the Presidents, ever thought that the result of their societies would be to disturb whole districts, to have riots common, and armed forces required to keep the peace, any more than Mr. Gladstone thinks that Home Rule for Ireland, if ever obtained, will do more harm to the United Kingdom than any other parliamentary measures ever passed. Such having been hitherto the state of

affairs, the present action of Government in practically letting it be widely known that Government does not approve of these sabhas will of itself have a very salutary effect, and probably had Government thus disclaimed all sympathy with the movement two or three years ago and openly discouragead it, the state of affairs by which the North-Western Province districts of Azamgarh and Ballia have been brought into almost a state of civil war and the Bihar districts generally disturbed would not have occurred.

Hitherto I have been unable to take any special measures, save to order the District Superintendent of Police to keep a small reserve handy, and owing to the paucity of men it has been very small. I have also spoken to the principal Hindus and Muhammadans on the necessity of being conciliatory. one to another, and of the importance that this district should not follow the evil example set by some of its neighbours, and all have assured me (with what truth will be subsequently ascertained) that the danger of any distrubance is very remote. In the Sudder and Madhubani subdivisions all volunteers, with the exception of two or three, resigned some months ago; so there are none to call out in case of any emergency. In the Samastipur subdivision there is a troop of Bihar Light Horse, and also Railway Volunteers, but a few weeks ago the carbines of the former were, with a very few exceptions, all in Calcutta. Now, however, it is most necessary that Government should be in a position to act at any moment, and in my opinion the following things should be done at once:-

Firstly, have a certian number of police ready to move at once in case of a riot. The force required for each district must of course vary with its requirements. As far as Darbhanga is concerned, I consider there should be a reserve of 50 men always ready to go out. Practically at present

there is only a very nominal reserve, and I would have 50 armed police sent. An extra officer is also a necessity. An European Police Officer should always for the present be at or close to head-quarters. With only a District Superintendent this is an impossibility, as now more than ever he is required to be in camp, and thoroughly inspect the whole of the district, not merely the thanas, and from some parts of the district it would take him two or three days to get in, in case he heard of any disturbances. It must also be remembered that there is here only one Inspector in the Sudder subdivision who has of course to be out inspecting. In the cold weather I shall also be out in camp, so there will be no European official on the spot.

Secondly, strict orders should be issued to the police to prevent all agents and preachers of their sabhas from moving about in the districts. At the present time they are not much in evidence, but when the harvest is over there is no doubt that they will again come (unless checked), and will induce by misrepresentations, &.c., many to subscribe to the funds, who would much rather not. It should again be impressed on each officer in charge of the thana that he is responsible for everything which goes on in his thana *ilaqa*, and that severe notice will be taken if any preaching, &c., is found out to have taken place in that *ilaqua*, and he has not reported it.

Thirdly, I would issue a general order to all Government servants pointing out that though the Gaurakhshini sabha's objects are harmless in their original idea, the preachings of agitators and evil disposed people have led to riots and loss of life, and have interfered with the good feelings which existed between Hindus and Muhammadans, and therefore they should not be supported by Government servants – much less should Government servants act on the Committees or

as Secretaries, or in any away take a leading part in the movement.

Fourthly, I would issue a general proclamation especially addressed to Landlords, pointing out that they, especially in Bihar, owing to their light assessments, are treated with especial favour by Government, and therefore they, unless they can show cause to the contrary, will be held responsible for any disturbances in their villages. The fact of their being non-president will not of itself be taken as an excuse, as it is their primary duty to have a karpardaz in every village, and if their agent, the Jeyt raiyat, the patwari and the chowkidar are all against it, it will be very difficult for itinerant preachers to hold meetings and if these itinerant perachers are stopped, the chances of riots will be immeasurably decreased. It should also be pointed out to Jeyt raiyats, patwaries and chowkidars that they will be held responsible for all disturbances, and that Government will dismiss them from their posts while, as far as the general public goes, it should be stated that when there is any fear of disturbances, Government will make the principal inhabitants special constables, and if riots or disturbances occur, Government will quarter punitive police on the villages. I would also call the attention of all persons to section 44 of the Criminal Procedure Code with reference to 124A of the Penal Code. As far as I can see at present, no changes in the existing law are required to control agitations and local disturbances.

Fifthly, If not already stated, I think special detectives should "shadow" the principal preachers of these sabhas, and that when one goes from one district to another prompt information should be given to the police of the district. At present this is not done, as only last week one of the most notorious turned up here under an assumed name, and the police did not know who he was until I told them.

Sixthly, the closest supervision should be kept over arms licences. In many cases they have been issued far too freely. Where riots occur licences should be at once taken away, and if they are frequent or there is a tendency towards them, the whole thana should be disarmed. It is impossible to help punishing the innocent with the guilty.

Seventhly, I think it would be a good thing, especially for those districts where there have been disturbances, if some trops were directed to march there during the ensuing cold weather.

Eigthly, some kind of censorship should be re-established over the press, and those printing presses which will be found guilty of printing the most scurrilous, inflammatory and disloyal circulars should be summarily closed. There is no reason why we should permit the freedom of the press to be systematically abused.

I would also call attention to one other point, viz, the ignorance a district officer is in as regards what is going on in the neighbouring districts. As a rule it is a matter of no importance, but in an agitation like this one in question it is almost a necessity for one to know something about one's neighbours. The only means available besides private letters are the newspapers, and probably most officers only see an *Englishman* and perhaps a native paper and the police confidential reports, and these give very little news. For the present I would suggest that a copy of the weekly confidential extracts from native papers be sent to officers in this Division.

6. In conclusion I must apologize for the delay in submitting this report which has been unavoidable.

ENCLOSURE (vi)
Note on the Madhubani Gaurakshini Sabha

1. I am informed that in 1888 some boys of the Madhubani Aided School went to the Sonepur mela, and there they met a number of pundits from Benares. These pundits appeared to have made a great impression on the minds of the boys, and on their return the young students set about creating a Gaurakshini Sabha. They found an energetic supporter in Pandit Meva Lall Takoor, the then Manager of the Madhubani Babus.

2. On the 2nd December 1888, the first meeting was held, and the Madhubani Gaurakshini Sabha was duly inaugurated.

3. Between the 2nd December 1888 and the 17th September 1893 the sabha held fifty meetings. In addition to these regular meetings, the sabha celebrates the Anniversary of its birth, generally at the beginning of each year. On these occasions it is the custom for them to invite pundits from all parts of the North-West Provinces. Lecutres are delivered and delegates from every Gaurakshini Sabha in Bihar attend. Meetings are held to consider ways and means for the advancement of the Society's views, and guests are all entertained at the cost of the Madhubani Sabha. Needless to say that full advantage is taken of these anniversary meetings to swell the Sabha's funds.

4. Unlike most movements carried on by native agency, the Sabha is established on a very business-like working basis. The staff for the present year consists of the following:

Presidents: Babu Durgadat Singh and Babu Hakdhari Singh (both Madhubani Babus)

Joint Secretaries: Munshi Lal Behari Lal, Mukhtear, and Mahabir Prashad, second Teacher, Middle Vernacular School.

Managing Committee:

1. Munshi Lal Behari Lal.

2. Gurjoo Pershad (Banker).
3. Harnath Pershad, Head Pandit, Middle Vernacular School.
4. Mahabir Pershad.
5. Syam Chandra Narayan, Mukhtear.
6. Tuli Ram Sahu, Mahajan.
7. Jhari Lal, Mahajan.
8. Mukund Rai, Mahajan.
9. Khub Lal Sahai, Mahajan.
10. Chuttur Bhuj Sahai, Pleader.
11. Bal Mukund Sahai, Head Master, Middle Vernacular School.
12. Prasad Ram, Mahajan.
13. Kalidhan Choudhry, Mahajan.

Working Committee: The Working Committee consists of the above thirteen members and eighteen others belonging to Madhubani Town.

Treasurer: Gurjoo Prasad, Agent of Brij Behari Lal, a Banker at Darbhanga.

5. On referring to the minutes of a meeting held in December 1891, I find that the Sabha drafted a set of rules defining the powers of its various officers.

The Presidents appear to have no real power, and are merely sort of figurehead.

It is their duty to attend meetings and to see that they are conducted with proper decorum. If neither of the Presidents happen to be present at a meeting, the members may elect a Chairman for the day to conduct business.

When Mewa Lall Takoor was President in 1891, I have no doubt that he took an active part in the affairs of the Society. The present Presidents, the Madhubani Babus, are apparently too lazy to take an active part, and their direct connection with the Society ends with giving a handsome yearly subscription. Indi-

rectly, however, they exert a considerable amount of influence. Their position in the town and their power over their tenantry in the mufassal are both sufficiently great to give the Gorakshini more notoriety and more importance than it deserves.

6. Secretaries. The brunt of work is borne by the Joint-Secretaries. Munshi Lal Behari Lal is the leading Mukhtear, and he has not much time to spare. But he is an exceedingly able man and possesses great influence both in the town and the mufassal. He is a good speaker, and is the chief spokesman of the party opposed to the cadastral survey.

Lall Behari is Secretary by reason of his position, and he does very little clerical work.

The whole of the Secretary's work is really done by Mahabir Pershad. This man has for some years been a teacher in the Government Aided Middle Vernacular School. He knows English, speaks it well, and is considerably above the average in intelligence.

It is entirely through him that the books of the Sabha are so well kept. The minutes are either written by him or prepared under his orders. Resolutions are drafted by him, and no letters to other Sabhas go out without his signature. He prepares the accounts and keeps them in a perfectly business-like manner, maintaining at least four books. In addition to all this he checks the diaries of the travelling pandits, and directs their movements. He also supervises the gaushala and cowsheds, and sees that they are properly kept up. All this he does without any remumeration and in addition to his own duties. This is an illustration of the hold the Gorakshini movement has on men of his class – men who are as near to fanatics as it is possible for a Hindu to be.

Mahabir Pershad is the mainstay of the Gorakshini Sabha, and he should certainly be told that he cannot attend to his duties as a teacher and work the Gorakshini Sabha at the same time.

7. *Treasurer.* The treasurer's duties are to keep and invest the Sabha's funds. He cannot receive or spend money without an order from one of the Secreataries. He cannot invest without the Secretary's consent.

Gurjoo Prasad, the present Treasurer, is a man of no particular importance, and he merely obeys orders.

8. *The Managing and the Working Committee.* Resolutions in all matters affecting the Society's relations with other societies, or in regard to the expenditure and allotments of money for various heads, have to be passed by the Working Committee. It is necessary that five members of the Managing Committee and seven of the Working Committee should vote in favour of the resolution before it can be carried out.

The Managing Committee being a smaller committee carry out the resolutions approved by the Working Committee.

9. I have already stated that the Sabha have held 50 meetings since December 1888. That gives an average of 10 meetings a year, or practically one every month. Their meetings appear to be well attended and conducted in a very business-like manner.

10. I have gone through the whole of the minute book, and find that the attendance was always good. The meetings appear to have been always held in the house of the Madhubani Babus.

11. *Proceedings of 3rd January 1892.* As an instance of the nature of the Sabha's proceedings, I give a short account of the proccedings of the 3rd January 1892:

(i) Expenses incurred in feeding delegates at the anniversary meeting held in December 1891, amounting to Rs. 27, passed.

(ii) Powers of President, Treasurer, Secretary and *goshalak* defined and draft passed.

(iii) Lohia pice received from boxes hung up in shops to be

sent to treasurer.

(iv) Subsbribers to be written to for arrears.

(v) Bonds given to persons with whom Sabha funds invested as loans to be deposited with the Secretary.

(vi) The Pandit's pay to be increased to Rs. 15 and peon's to Rs. 5.

(vii) Read letter from the Darbhanga Gorakshini Sabha. The Darbhanga Sabha is wrong in saying that cattle is not properly looked after at Mudhubani. Darbhanga Sabha's request to have certain forms filled up and to report the working of the Sabha are entirely beyond jurisdiction.

11. I have inspected the Sabha's account books, and find them very well kept, The income from each head is clearly shown. Subscribers are entered and classed in groups, and payments are carefully credited. The Society is very active in collecting funds, and reminders for arrears are regularly sent.

12. The following statement shows the income of the Society:

(i) Fixed monthly subscription from the people in Madhubani town[5], Rs. 18-13 per month. Out of this the amlahs in the sub-divisional offices pay Rs.10-3-9 and the baniahs of the town subscribe Rs. 4-4 per month. The remaining Rs. 4 per month is got out of minor people in Madhubani.

---

5. The following are the names of the chief subscribers: Godar Sahal, Road Cess clerk, L.B., Chokraj Kacuse Muharrir, Basdeb Narain, Court Sub-Inspector, Hussan Lal, Record keeper. Gobind Lal, Municipal Tax-Collector, Makul Dhari, comparing clerk, Munsif's Court, Kodai Lal, Munsif's Record keeper, Bhagbati Charan, Munsif's English Copyist, Gorja Nath, Musif's Copyist, Banshi Dhar, Munsif's Accountant, Din Bandhu Sahai, Muharrir, Registrations office. Bal Mokund Sahai, Teacher, Middle

(ii) Boxes hung up in shops, Rs. 14 per month. It appears that in each shop a box is hung up into which purchasers put in pice, each man contributing what he feels inclined to give. It would seem that people in these parts are exceedingly devout.

(iii) Collections made by the five big corn dealers for the Sabha from their purchasers - the biggest of these appears to be Ajodya Ram – Rs.22-6, the average for the last six months.

(iv) Receipts through the Pandits: These are supplies of corn collected from villages. The corn is sold at Madhubani and paid into the Treasurer's hands

The Madhubani Babus give Rs. 400 at each anniversary.

	Rs.	A.	P.	
Average	4	7	0	per month
(v) Collections at anniversary meetings Since the establishment of the Sabha this amounts to an average	60	0	0	
(vi) "Chattis" or contributions in corn given by the corn dealers - Average	1	0	0	per month
(vii) Income from the gaushala obtained by sale of milk, dung, & c.	1	5	0	per month

(viii) In addition to this, some sugar "golas" in Rampatia contribute from time to time: but during the last six months they have contributed nothing.

Vernacular School. Har Nath Prasad, Teacher, Middle Vernacular School, Beni Tewari. Pandit, Sanskrit Aided School, Munni Lal, Pandit. Sanskrit Aided School, Reghunandan Misir, Pandit, Sanskrit Aided School, Ghabstan Nussur, Pandit, Sanskrit Aided School, Raghunath Sahai, Poddar, Sub-divisional Office, Peons of Munsif's Court.

13. These items amount to a monthly income of Rs. 121-15. During the year 1892 the income fluctuated and the gross receipts for the year amounted to Rs. 1,243, or a little over Rs. 100 per month – a very substantial income indeed for so small an area.

14. *Branch Sabhas.* There appears to be no branch sabhas in the sub-division. A branch or Sakha Sabha was established some time ago at Pandoul, and it was expected that they would add to the Society's funds. But after paying small sums for a short time, the Sakha Sabha appears to have died a natural death.

At Jungharpur there is a gaushala; but this is managed by the Darbhanga Sabha, and is utilised for a rest-house for all the cattle that cannot be housed in Darbhanga.

The Raja at Rajnugger was asked to contribute; but he said he had a sabha at Rajnugger, and that he could not contribute to the Madhubani Sabha. As a matter of fact there appears to be no Sabha at Rajnugger.

15. *Expenses.* The expenses of the Madhubani Sabha consists of the following items:

(i)	Pundit	Rs. 10 per month
(ii)	Peon	Rs. 5 per month
(iii)	Cowherds	Rs. 3 per month
(iv)	Food for cows (Corn gunda, straw, & c.)	Rs. 215 for the year.
(v)	Purchase of cows	Rs. 5
(vi)	Repairs, &c.	Rs. 3
(vii)	Misc. expenses of delegates to Darbhanga, &c.	Rs. 76 duringthe year.
(viii)	Clerk	Rs. 7 per month.

16. The average expenditure is therefore Rs. 57 per mensem. The total expenditure in 1892 amounted to Rs. 620-8.

17. The Sabha therefore saves from Rs. 400 to 600 per year.

and at the present moment they have a reserve of Rs. 1,500.
18. I now turn to the influence which the Sabha exerts. I have already pointed out that the Madhubani Sabha considers itself an independent body responsible to no other Society. They do not acknowledge the Darbhanga Sabha as a guide in any matters whatever.

In the matter of establishing other sabhas they have shown great activity, and the Sitamarhi Gorakshini Sabha, though now independent, was originally established under the auspices of the Madhubani Sabha. The pundit of the Madhubani Sabha one Ram Anugrah Tribedi, has been deputed to Sitamarhi for the express purpose of obtaining subscriptions and placing the new institution on a sound financial basis.
19. I have gone through the letter book of the Madhubani Sabha, and I find that they are in direct correspondence with almost every big Sabha in Bihar. Nagpur appears to be the acknowledged head, and the letters show that Madhubani is greatly influenced by the views of that city. I find, for instance, that in August the Collector of Muzaffarpur visited Sitamarhi and expressed his disapproval of the Gorakshini movement. The result was that subscriptions fell off. The Madhubani Sabha at once took up the question and wrote to the Nagpur Sabha detailing the facts of the case and asking for advice. This letter has not yet been answered.
20. In a series of interesting letters written by the Madhubani Sabha to Partapganj, Mhow, Dalsingserai, Beguserai, the Madhubani Sabha calls Nagpur the heart of India and the Hindu faith, and appeals to Mithila to become the head. These letters are earnest exhorations to establish sabhas, and to see that the Hindu faith remains unsullied, that cattle are preserved, and that Hinduism may become the leading religion in India. In furtherance of this object, the Madhubani Sabha recommend to the notice of other sabhas a scheme furnished by the

Nagpur Sabha, in which it is proposed to establish circles all throughout India. A number of Inspectors are to be appointed in each circle, whose duty it will be to visit each Gorakshini Sabha, inspect its accounts, raise subscriptions for its maintenance, and to advise in any points tht may come up for reference.

I may remark that nothing appears to have come of this proposal, but that is only because the Sabhas elsewhere are not sufficiently energetic.

The fact remains that Madhubani has taken the lead in Bihar, and that it is exhibiting a very dangerous amount of activity in propagating its views.

20. I call the activity dangerous, because although in Madhubani subdivision itself there appears to be no indication of any breach of peace, the pundits of the sabha do incalculable mischief in their preaching tours, both here and elsewhere. I have no doubt that with the general mass of cultivators, their doctrines tend to create a fanatical spirit. There are few Muhammadans in the subdivision, and they have to be careful in not giving offence to the Hindus. But I have no doubt that if the population had been more evenly divided. there would have been disturbances long before this.

21. As for the publications issued by the Society, I do not think many are directly issued in their name. But a large number of their books are composed by the pundit of the Madhubani Sabha, and dedicated to the Madhubani Babus. They are mostly laments by the cow against the cruelty of her sons, the Hindus. Some contain slokas from the sacred books, recounting the virtues of the cows, others call upon Queen Victoria to stop the killing of cattle. I submit a translation of one of these books. In another report I propose to give a further account of the literature edited by the friends of the Gaurakshini Sabha. Although there is nothing openly in-

citing people to resort to violence, it is clear that these publications are intended to inflame the minds of the ignorant, and to induce them to take every possible means of supressing the killing of kine. There are passages, for instance, in which the cow turns to the "Chatris" and calls them cowards because the butchers are allowed to buy cows for Rs. 2 and to take them away.

22. In conclusion, I may mention that there is one point in which the Gaurakshini Sabhas, and certainly the Madhubani Sabhas are doing good: they buy old and decrepit cows and feed them. The cows are generally well treated, having plenty of corn and other nourishing food, and it must be said to the credit of the Sabha that, although they are ready to shelter any cow that is brought to them, they take the trouble to inquire that the cattle are not stolen property.

B.K.Mullick,
Sub-divisional Officer.
Madhubani,
9th October 1893.

ENCLOSURE (vii)

Short history of the antecedents and doings of Bindiyachal Pershad, alias Hans Sarup Dass, alias Param Hans Dass, son of Balabo Sahai of Rampore, police station Chapra, district Saran.

This man is now domiciled in Muzaffarpur town.

He was born in 1855 in Muzaffarpur town, where his father was in employ as a Collectorate amin, who became domiciled in village Narainpur, police-station Mohua, district Muzaffarpur.

Bindiyachal's father died when the former was too young to look after himself, hence he was brought up by his grandfather, Bidesi Lal.

Bindiyachal was admitted into the Muzaffarpur Zilla School after winning a vernacular scholarship carrying a stipend of Rs. 4 per mensem. He appeared, but failed to pass the Entrance Examination in 1875, and with this his educational career closed.

Between 1876 and 1886 he served in various capacities as a teacher in the Society school in Muzaffarpur town and in the Beuriarpur School in the Sadar police-station jurisdiction of the Muzaffarpur district, and as a Clerk in the office of the Darbhanga Raj, but all this time he devoted much of his leisure to acquiring a knowledge of Yoga, and ultimately in 1887 he became a regualr devotee or Jogi, and abandoned service.

He went to Nepal to his guru, Tudra Dass, who conferred upon him the little of Hans Sarup.

In March 1877 he established a Sabha or committee in muhalla Chandwara in the town of Muzaffarpur, styled the Tirkuti Mahal, which professes to show the way to spiritual salvation through the three principal nerves of the human

frame called in yogi phraseology Inglas, Pinglas and Susmanas.

A printed copy of the prospectus of the Tirkuti Mahal doctrine is annexed.

The alleged objects of the Sabha are:

1. To unfold the mysteries of human creation.
2. To impress on the hearts of men what we are, why we exist, what is to become of us, and what treasures should be hoarded for the day of resurrection ?

In imitation of Christian Missionaries, preachers have been appointed on behalf of the sabha to inculcate its tenets, and Bindiyachal *alias* Hans Sarup goes all over the country delivering lectures on the above subjects, with which he incorporates arguments in favour of the protection of kine.

Bindyachal is himself the President of the sabha. Bagwati Churn, B.A., B.L., a pleader, is the Vice Chairman. Babu Debi Pershad, a zamindar of Jarang, police-station Katra, district Muzaffarpur, is the Secretary of the Sabha.

There is a regular office of this Sabha employing two clerks, one of whom is Bindiyachal's brohter, a collector of subscriptions, missionaries, and peons at a total cost of Rs. 99 per mensem, and it is said that the Sabha has a deposit of Rs. 2,000 to its credit with Lachi Ram Marwari, Banker of Muzaffarpur.

The lectures delivered by Bindiyachal himself are represented to be so interesting and soul stirring that he has made many disciples, and is cordially assisted generally, whilst several Maharajas and Rajas give donations to his Sabha, amongst whom are said to be-

The Maharaja of Deo	The Maharaja of Dumraon,
The Maharaja of Ajudhiya,	The Raja of Sheohar,
The Maharaja of Gidhaur,	The Raja of Khaira,
The Maharaja of Burdwan,	Babu of Rajhowli,

besides many untitled zamindars and others.

The following are acknowledged disciples of this man:

1. Bhagwati Sabai of Aurangabad in Gaya,
2. Thakur Pershad, Pleader of Aurangabad in Gaya,
3. Ishwar Narain of Daltonganj, Palamau,
4. Mahadeo Pershad of Katihar, Purnea,
5. Debi Pershad, Head-clerk, Opium Department, Fyzabad,
6. Sri Gopal Peshkar of Opium Department, Fyzabad, and many others who, though not numbered as his disciples, are his followers.

The names of the preachers in his direct employ are:

1. Nilkant Tewari, posted at Giridih in Hazaribagh district.
2. Kusabar Tewari, posted at Sheohar in the Sitmarhi sub-division of the Muzaffarpur district.
3. Raghunandan Misser, who generally accompaines Bindyachal wherever he goes.

Bindiyachal is the author of four books and a picture of the human frame, copies of which are sent herewith.

They have nothing to do with kine-killing.

1890.

The first mention of this man in the confidential abstracts of intelligence appears in paragraph 308, abstruct No. 10 of 1890, in which he is represented as "an anti-kine-killing agitator" who left Muzafarpur for Gaya on the 13th March 1890, with the intention of staying with Tulshi Pershad, Sarishtadar of the Judge's Court.

He returned to Muzaffarpur on the 19th idem, and stated that he had been to Dumraon, and the District Superintendent of Police, Gaya, denied that he had visited Gaya.

On 21st March he left for Lucknow, whence he returned on 5th April, and on the 7the went to Darbhanga, whence he returned on the 9th.

On the 13th April he went to Gaya, and in his diary, dated 20th April 1890, the District Superintendent of Police, Gaya, reports his arrival at Gaya, "where he is lecturing on the origin of Kayastho."

In this dairy, dated 26th April, the District Superintendent of Police, Darbhanga, mentions a rumour that Bindyachal Pershad embezzled the money collected for the anti-kine-killing movement, but no complaint was made. This is said to have occurred two years ago (1888), when he was looking after the affairs of the Society at Kamtaul, out-post Taley, district Darbhanga.

On the 4th May he returned from Gaya and left again on the 6th for Darbhanga, whence he returned on the 22nd May.

From the 1st to the 6th of June he was in Saran and returned to Muzaffarpur on the 7th, leaving again on the 12th idem for Lucknow.

He was next found preaching at Siwan, as reported in the District Superintendent of Police, Siwan's diary of 12th July 1890, and returned to Muzaffarpur on the 4th August, leaving again on the 12th idem for Buxar in Sahahabad.

His return is not noted, but on the 15th November he left Muzaffarpur for Motihari.

Again his return is not noted, but he is reported as leaving Muzaffarpur for Bihar "to preach against kine-killing" on the 15th December 1890, whence he returned on the 26th idem.

1891

On the 9th January he left Muzaffarpur for Buxar for the same alleged purpose.

He is not mentioned again until the 26th June, when he is reported to have left Muzaffarpur for Purnea to preach against kine-killing, intending to put up with Nanak Pershad, a Pleader.

In his diary of the 2nd August, the District Superintendent

of Police, Bankura, reports: "A man calling himself Param Hanso (probably Bindyachal Pershad alias Param Hans Dass) has appeared at Sasua, about 18 miles north of Bankura, and seems to have enlisted the public sympathy. People flock to him daily in large numbers. The general belief is that he can reveal the future of others and heal people of incurabale diseases."

He returned to Muzaffarpur on the 3rd August. We next hear of him as returning from Gonda on the 4th October, but when he went there is not noted, and notwithstanding the report of his return to Muzaffarpur on the 3rd August, it is noted: "He went to Gonda from Purnea to preach against kine-killing.

This looks as if between the 3rd August and 4th October he had been on tour again to Purnea, and thence worked round to Gonda.

In his diary, dated 20th October, the District Superintendent of Police, Muzaffarpur, reports that this man left for Majhouli, district Gorakhpur, North-Western Provinces, to preach against kine-killing, and although his intermediate return is not reported, he is again represented as leaving Muzaffarpur on the 10th November. He was not long away this time, for on the 14th he again left Muzaffarpur to bathe at Sonepur, whence he returned on the 20th.

He is next reported as leaving Muzaffarpur on the 25th November for Sitalpur, district Saran, to preach against kine-killing, whence he returned on the 16th December.

In his diary of the 21st December, the District Superintendent of Police, Saran, writes in regard to the above: "It appears that no trace of Bindyachal Pershad could be found at Sitalpur, although at about that time, two men, whose names are not known, and who are said to be residents of Chapra, went to Sitalpur and told one Bhowani Rai to collect annas

two per house for the Gaurakshini. Bhowani Rai, however, stated that this could not be done.

1892

On the 25th January he left Muzaffarpur for Patna to meet Babu Mutadin, late Sub-Judge of Muzaffarpur.

No mention is again made of Bindyachal till April, when, in his diary dated 25th, the District Superintendent of Police, Muzaffarpur, reported that he had left Muzaffarpur for Deoria, "a village in police station and district Gorakhpur, where he intends preaching against kine-killing." His return is reported in the diary of the 23rd May, but the specific date is not given.

On the 26th May he left Muzaffarpur for Motihari, and under the date of 5th June the District Superintendent of Police, Champaran, reports:

"A sadhu, named Hans Sarup, came to Bettiah from Muzaffarpur and delivered lectures on religion. This man's headquarters are at Muzaffarpur, and he is said to have a number of disciples who are touring about lecturing on religion. Subscriptions are raised on behalf of his sabha."

On the 6th June he returned to Muzaffarpur. In his diary of the 2nd July, the District Superintendent of Police, Shahabad, reports the presence in Arrah of one Hans Sarup from Muzaffarpur, preaching on religious subjects.

He left Arrah on the 4th July.

In his diary of the 16th July, the District Superintendent of Police, Shahabad, identifies "Hans sarup' to be identical with Bindyachal Pershad, and says that Hira Lal and Benarsi Lal Vakils of Chapra, Saran, are said to be related to him.

We next hear of Bindyachal Pershad in the diary of the District superintendent of Police, Etawa, North-Western Provinces, dated 27th August, in the following terms:-

"Swami Hansarup, who arrived here on the 16th August,

delivered a lecture on the Hindu religion at the Hume High School on the 17th. There was a very good attendance. The Swami seems a very well-educated man, and knows English, Hindi, and Sanskrit remarkably well. He is Kayesth by caste, and a resident of Muzaffarpur in Bengal. He is a guest of Munshi Debi Pershad of the Opium Department. On the 10th September he returned to Muzaffarpur from Muttra in the North-Western Provinces.

On the 23rd October he again left Muzaffarpur for Gaya; and in his diary, dated 31st October, the District Superintendent of Police, Gaya, writes: "Swami Hans Sarup *alias* Bindiyachal Pershad visited Nawada on the 24th October, with the object of lecturing on religious topics. He usually concluded his lectures, which were also attended by several Muhammadans, with an exhoratation against kine-killing."

The Swami, who has passed the Entrance examination (this is an error: he failed) appears to be a well-educated man, and is conversant with Persian, Urdu, Sanskrit, and Hindi. He was expected to lecture at the annual Gorakshini festival, which comences on the 29th October and extends to the 31st idem.

This man is known as the President, Tirkutia Mahal, Muzaffarpur.

On the 8th November the District Superintendent of Police, Gaya, writes: "Bindyachal Pershad has recently been lecuring in favour of the anti-kine-killing movement, on education and Hindu worship. He was presented with a pair of dhoties and Rs. 40 to meet exprenses. He intended to leave for Muzaffarpur on the 2nd."

On the 16th November he arrived at Muzaffarpur, and on the 17th he left for Jugdishpur in Shahabad.

1893

On the 12th January he returned from Shahabad and left

again on the 26th for Arrah, whence he returned on the 31st idem.

On the 10th April he went to Khairia in the Jamui Sub-division of the Monghyr district, and visited Monghyr and Bhagalpur, and returned on the 28th May.

On the 11th June he went to Calcutta, returning on the 21st idem. On the 5th July he started for Juggernath returning on the 9th August. On the 31st August he went to Dumraon and has not yet returned, and is said at present to be at Allahabad.

H.M. RAMSAY,
District Superintendent of Police, Muzaffarpur.
22nd September 1893.

ENCLOSURE viii(a)

Specimens of Gaurakshini Literature From Darbhanga

(No. 1.)

Darbhanga Dharma Sabha or Religious Association.
By order of Maharaja Sir Lakshmishwar Singh Bahadur, K.C.I.E.,President

To
Dear Sir,

To be ready to protect cows and take steps for their support is not only a work of great religious merit for us Indians, but one of imperative necessity. Dear, respected Sir, our country is in such a wretched condition, simply because we are so backward in the matter of supporting kine. Darbhanga Dharma Sabha has been establilshed for the support of our

distressed cow mother, and solicits the co-operation of similar asssociations establishied in mufassal villages. I therefore humbly request that your will please circulate the notice of the Association, and call a meeting of the neighbouring gentry and the public generally and establish a branch association in your village. The lecturer of Darbhanga Dharma Sabha, _____, will explain the object of the Association to you, and it is hoped you will disseminate in your neighbouring villages the principles of the most useful and grand movement for the preservation of cows. The necessary rules and bye-laws of the Association are with the lecturer.

Vice-President.
Chief Secretary.

[In the original document the name of the lecturer was left out. Ed.]

(No. 2.)

Darbhanga Dharma Sabha

By order of Maharaja Sir Lakshmishwar Singh Bahadur, K.C.I.E., President.

I humbly beg to inform you that a meeting of the most benevolent Association for the preservation of cows will be held at _____ on _____. You will therefore oblige the Association by attending the meeting at the said place, and thus advance the cause of such a meritorious work. What a pity that there should be such men in the world as would shrink back from promoting the cause of cow-preservation! No, there can never be such men! However, if there be any men who do not attend such a virtuous assembly, and purposely keep themselves aloof from all co-operation in the matter, they would thereby betray an apathy which is most

condemnable and unbecoming in our Hindu brethren.

Whoever, on receipt of this notice, makes five copies of it and distributes them, or reads out the notice to other people and brings them to the meeting, is the greatest well-wisher of the kine. If any person do not do so, it will certainly be presumed that they do not advocate the cause of cow-protection.

Secretary.

(No. 3)

Darbhanga Dharma Sabha

Sir,

The Gopashtmi fair of Darbhanga Dharma Sabha will be held on 189_. The representatives of neighbouring as well as distant sabhas, and learned lecturers, have been invited to the fair not only to grace the meeting, but hold religious discussions. In order to carry out the said object, this invitation letter is sent to you with the request that you will grace this festive occasion with the presence of yourself and your friends.

Yours,

Vice-President, Darbhanga Dharma Sabha.

(No. 4)

Contingent bill of casual expenses of Darbhanga Dharma Sabha for the month of 189_.

Date.	Description	Amount	Total	Remarks.
		Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	

Total ----------

Received the above amount in cash.

Secretary. Signature.

Clerk. ----------

Establishment bill of Darbhanga Dharma Sabha for the month of 189_.

No.	Name of employee	Designation	Salary drawn	Salary deducted	Fines amt.	Net paid.	Remark
			Rs.A.P.	Rs. A.P.	Rs. A.P.	Rs. A.P.	
Total							

Received the above amount in cash.
Chief Secretary.

Signature. Clerk.
Dated month 189.

(No. 5)
Sitamarhi Godharma Pracharini Sabha

Salutation to Krishna or Gobind, who is the benefactor of the world, the deities, cows and Brahmins

O Ye Indians, whether Hindus, Muhammadans or Christians, think a little with whose labour you obtain your living in this country! With one voice you must all declare that it is the offspring of the cow that secures you your daily food. Hence religion and duty both require us Indians to be ever ready to protect and support cows. The miserable condition of our country is chiefly owing to our indifference in the matter of supporting cows. At the instance of the Madhubani Gorakshini Sabha, and touched with the distress of cows, whose sphere of usefulness is not confined to any particular class or creed, a Gorakshini Sabha and gaushala (cow-house)

have been established here also, and they appeal for help for themselves and their branch associations established in villages in the interior. It is hoped that the public generally will help this Association, and with a view to secure its permanence it has been decided by Marwaries and the trading community generally that any person importing or exporting goods, cloths, grains, or grocery must contribute towards the funds of the Sabha by paying a cow tax according to the scale and rules laid down below. If any tradesman makes any excuse in paying for such a meritorious object, the Godharma Pracharini Sabha is authorised to realise the amount:-

(1) This Association will always be ready for the good of the country to protect cows, but it will not do anything that might be opposed to the spirit of the ancient Hindu religion or the laws of the ruling Government.

(2) Subordinate associations will be established at distances of three and four *kosas*, and they will be called village or auxiliary associations (gram sabha or sahayak sabha).

(3) The village associations will send reports of their working to the main association at Sitamarhi, which will surpervise their proceedings and give necessary instructions to them.

(4) This Association, as well as the village associations, will appoint arbitrators or jurors in the neighbouring villages, their number being not less than three.

(5) The said arbitrators, under the orders of their Association, will see that nobody sells cows against the injunctions of the Shastras. They will report, to their sabhas cases of such sale, and insist on the perpetrators making such penance as is enjoined in the Shastras. They will also warn people generally to put into the Sitamarhi cow-shed such old and feeble cows and bullocks as they cannot support.

(6) Every Hindu ought to assist this Association with money, &c., and this Association will feed the cows of the gaushala

with the money so contributed.

(7) Any person importing goods will have to pay two annas. When selling the same to any tradesman, he will realise two annas per cent from him, and credit the amount to the cow fund. To whomsoever he sells, he must realise from him a cow tax of two annas per cent. according to the following rule: No deduction for sales of less than Rs. 10; one pice from Rs. 10 to Rs. 12-8; half anna from Rs. 12-8 to Rs. 25; one anna from Rs. 25 to Rs. 50; one and ahalf anna from Rs. 50 to Rs. 75, and two annas from Rs. 75 to Rs. 100. In this way deductions must be made for every article sold, and the money credited to the cow fund.

(8) If any trader or commercial agent buys grain or oil-seeds in the Sitamarhi mart, a percentage of one anna must be realised from such person and credited to the cow fund. This rule applies to Kot, Bhavdepur, Purani Bazar, &c., also.

(9) If any person imports salt and sells it to any trader, he must realise from him one pice (*lohaia* as distinguished from English pice) per every bag for the cow fund.

(10) If any one imports kerosine oil and sells it to any shop-keeper, he must realise from him one pice (*lohaia*) for every box on account of the cow fund, and if he exports the same oil, he must realise from the buyer half anna for each box.

(11) If any person imports grocery and sells it to any tradesman, he must realise from him a percentage of two annas on account cow fund.

(12) If any person imports cotton and sells it to any trader, he must realise from him a percentage of two annas on account cow fund.

(13) If any person imports glassware and sells it to any trader, he must realise from him a percentage of two annas on account cow tax. Such deduction must be made for glass bangles and sealing lac also.

(14) If any person imports brass or iron utensils, or iron, and sells the same to any tradesman, he must realise from him a percentage of two annas on account cow tax.
(15) If any person sells empty gunny-bags to any trader, he must realise from him a percentage of two annas on account of cow tax.
(16) At the time of marriage or death when Brahmins are fed and *nama* (money paid to Brahmins at the time of death) and *deli* (money given to Brahmins at the time of marriage) given to Brahmins, five *namas*, five *dakshinas* (fees paid to Brahmins) and two *delis* must be first kept apart for cows, and then the ceremonies proceeded with.
(17) If anybody makes festivities on account of his son's birth or marriage, he must pay Rs.2 towards the cow fund. If a marriage party comes to Sitamarhi or goes out of Sitamarhi elsewhere, they must similarly pay Rs. 2 to the cow fund.
(18) All servants and *gomashtas* (agents) whose salaries are payable monthly or yearly, whether the same be less or more than Rs. 100, must pay one pice per rupee towards the cow fund.
(19) Brokers also must pay one pice per rupee out of their income towards the cow fund.
(20) If any member of the trading community has any difficulty in settling his accounts with another, and they refer their case for arbitration to some other individual of the same community, such person must not decide the case without realising from both the parties such sums as they can afford for the cow fund.
(21) Besides this, any person can give, at any time, money, food, grass, land, wood, bamboo or straw for the use of cows, and the village sabha or main sabha will acknowledge such gift with thanks. Any person sending any letter or gift should send the same to the address of the Secretary of the Sabha.
(22) If any person breaks these rules in making deductions, or

exempts traders from such payments, he must pay Rs. 11 as penalty towards the cow fund. If he justifies himself by saying that he has acted according to rules, his books and the papers of the trader must be examined. Should it be found that he has acted according to rules, the sum of Rs. 11 will not be demanded, or else he shall have to pay the said penalty.

(23) All grain that might be despatched by railway or imported by it will be subject to a deduction of one anna per wagon of 62 bags on account cow-tax.

(24) Any tradesman who imports or exports goods shall have to pay one and half anna per wagon of 62 bags. Any trader importing or exporting oil-seeds, &c., shall have to pay half anna per wagon of 62 bags.

(25) Any person importing or exporting ghee shall have to pay half anna per box. If he buys ghee from a trader, he must realise from him a percentage of two annas on account cow tax.

(26) Any person who buys from a tradesman saltpetre, whether it be crystallized, or Cutchia, or Kathia, must realise from him two annas on account cow tax.

(27) Any person selling sugar must realise half anna per bag from the trader, and if he imports it, he must himself pay half anna per bag on account cow tax.

(28) Any person selling wine and ganja must pay a percentage of two annas on the sale proceeds. He must also realise two annas from the tradesman to whom he sells such articies.

(29) Any person selling gold and silver must pay a percentage of two annas as cow tax.

The undersigned Marwari and other tradesmen gladly accepted the rules and signed their names:-

1st Ganga Ram Ram Jas, by Arjun Das.
2nd Raghu Nath Ray Ram Bilas, by Ram Bilas.
3rd Jawahir Lal Bim Raj, by Gharsi Ram.

4th Mungeri Lal Rameshwar Lal, by Jai Narayan.
5th Kanhaya Lal Dungar Mal, by Ram Pratap.
6th Shiva Ram Das Mansakh Rai, by Gul Raj.
7th Jamna Das Bihari Lal, by Bihari Lal.
8th Bhagwan Das Mugi Lal, by Mugi Lal.
9th Srinivas Gal Raj, by Kesri Chund.
10th Kedar Bakhsh Bhagwan Das, by self.
11th Bhajan Lal Lakshmi Narayan, himself.
12th Bhawal Sahu, himself.
13th Dular Sahu Sham Lal, by Thakur Dayal.
14th Sham Lal Chaudhari, himself.
15th Raja Ram, himself.
16th Phul Chund Sahu Bihari Lal, by Mahant Ram.
17th Ram Lal Sahu Budhan Sahu, by Gulab Chand.
18th Bans Lochan Sahu, by Shiva Dan Chand.
19th Balrup Sahu Dwarka Lal, by Mahabir Ram.
20th Moti Chand Mahadeo Pershad, by Mahabir Ram.
21st Jodhan Sahu, himself.
22nd Keshi Sahu Janki Sahu, by Bhuja Lal.
23rd Tilak Dhari Sahu Mannu Sahu, himself.
24th Kamalpat Ram, himself.
25th Amrit Lal Doma Ram, himself.
26th Ram Tahal Sahu Banu Ram, himself.
27th Gopi Ram, himself.
28th Babu Ram Chaudhari, by Shiva Narayan.
29th Lakham Ram, himself
30th Tapsi Ram, himself.
31st Shiva Govind Ram Mahabir Ram, by Narain Ram.
32nd Chaturgun Sahu, by Achutanand.
33rd Khub Lal Chaudhuri, himself.
34th Jan Prasad, by Mewa Ram.
35th Sumhar Sahu, Suba Ram.
36th Atil Ram Kalwar.

37th Bhagwan Ram Kandhu.
38th Balgovind Sahu, Babu Lal.
39th Mahabir Sahu.

Manager Ram Anugrah Tribedi, Chief Lecturer, Gaurakhshini Sabha, Madhubani

Secretary Ram Bahadur Singh, Mukhtar.

(No. 6)

Sitamarhi Gaurakshini Sabha

Hear, brethren, do not delay any more, as the cow-mother is being slaughtered; make preparations for building a cow-house, in order that the lives of cow mothers might be protected thereby.

I am a poor cow of Mithila, and am crying bitterly, as butchers slaughter us day and night. Save us, O Hindus!

I humbly beg to inform you that a meeting of the most benevolent Association for the preservation of cows will be held at ____ on____. You will therefore oblige the Association by attending the meeting at the said place, and thus advance the cause of such a meritorious work. What a pity that there should be such men in the world as would shrink back from promoting the cause of cow-preservation. No, there can never be such men. However, if there be any persons who do not attend such a virtuous assembly, and purposely keep themselves aloof from all co-operation in the matter, they would thereby betray an apathy which is most condemnable and unbecoming in our Hindu brethren. Whoever on receipt of this notice makes five copies of it and distributes them, or reads out the notice to other people and brings them to the meeting, does material service to cows. If any persons do not do so, it will then be presumed that they do not like the idea of protecting cows. Pandit Ram Anugrah Tribedi, Chief

Lecturer of Madhubani Gaurakhshini Sabha, will lecture at this meeting.

Ram Bahadur Singh, Mukhtear,
Secretary.

(No. 7)

Madhubani Gorakshini Sabha

Put aside all work, and come and devote yourself to the protection of cows.

By order of Babu Durga Datt Singh and Babu Harsh Dhari Singh, Presidents.

It is hereby announced that the fourth anniversary of this Association will be held from Sunday, the 19th March 1893, to Monday, the 20th idem. You are therefore requested to grace the meeting, on the said days, with your presence, as well as with that of your friends and relations.

Business to be done:

1. On the morning of Sunday, the 19th March, there will be, first, sacrifice and feeding of Brahmins in the cowshed, and then the cows will march out in a grand proccession. At 1 p.m. the annual report will be read out by order of the President, and then several local Pandits will lecture on the protection of cows. Last of all, Pandit Jagat Narayan Sharma of Benares will prove the Principle of Cow-protection by means of the Koran, Puran, Vedas and other religious works.
2. On Monday, the 20th March, at 2 p.m., there will be a preliminary invocation of the deity, and then the memorial of the cows to the Maharani Empress Victoria will be read, and lectures delivered by the preachers of other Sabhas, who might be present on the occassion.

Lal Bihari Lal,
Secretary

(No. 8.)

Sri Gopal, Manager of the daily business, Pandit.
(Sd.) *Secretary.*

Ram Anugrah Tribedi, Chief Lecturer,
Godharma Pracharini Sabha, Madhubani.
(Sd.) *Secretary.*

Started From Day Date Month	Places Where visted.	Subscriptions collected on the spot. Rs. A. P.	Work	Remarks

(Sd.) Ram Anugrah Tribedi,
Chief Lecturer, Godharma Pracharini Sabha, Madhubani,
At present staying in _____ Pargana, _____ thana, _____ zilla

(No. 9.)

Translation of Gavi Benai (prayer of the cow). (Madhubani).

O, God, the protector of the cow, the preserver of the cow, why you have forgotten me? The butchers are killing me; help me soon.

You are always styled as protector of cow; what justice you are doing? On account of what fault the butchers are killing me? God takes the incarnation of Krishna for the protection of cow. He gives relief to all after killing the *asurs.* Where is the Krishna gone? Everyone having *sikha* (i.e.

Hindu) on his head has left his duty (i.e. *dharam*) and walking here and there in dark light. The Jajmans give cows in charity to the Brahmins (priests) who come to bless them. The present Jajmans give the oldest cows to the Brahmins in charity. The Brahmins, thinking them quite useless, don't give them (cows) fodder. The Brahmins take the cows given to them by their Jajmans to their homes. Their females thinking the cows quite old and useless abuse their male members for their so doing. The Brahmins being obliged with the abusive words given out by their females, take the cows to the markets for sale. The butchers after paying them Rs. 2 or 3 take the cows to their houses in the presence of Brahmins, Chatris, and Sudra (classes of Hindus). These fellows leaving their duties have forgotten the care of their mother (cows). India is daily being ruined; there remains no bold man in it. The Chatris generally are showy ones; they have left their duty (*dharam*) and have forgotten their boldness. The Hindus of the present time eating flesh and driking wine generally go to the prostitute's house, where they mix with each other and allow the cow to be killed. The Indians become fools and forget their duties and distribute their wealth among the prostitutes, their followers, and bards. In this way they throw the money by thousands, but cannot spend a single shell for our (cows) sake. O, Ram! O, Lachuman! who are the great favourites of Bhim, Daleep and Bashesht and protectors of the cows," so the author (Ram Anugrah) says "where you both have gone away? Your sons generally are seeing the killing of the cows." All the *shastras* describe the protection of the cows to be the best thing. When the marriage of the sons of the Indians takes place, the Indians generally waste money in the ceremony and give it to the dancing girls, but don't spend anything as subscription to the protection of the cow society. They do evil, and feel pain in paying anything

towards the cows. The cow says shame!! shame!! shame! to the mothers of the Indians sons who see their mothers (cows) being killed. When the Vaishya left his *dharam*, who cares for the Sudras (who are lower caste) if they do so. Even the *seth* (rich man) makes a melancholy face if he is asked to pay anything like subscription towards the cow protection society. The one who will take interest in it will at last go to heaven.

We (cows) pray the Christians and Muhammadans, folding our hands, that they may kindly leave their partiality and have mercy upon us (cows).

Those who kill cows, drink wine, cut the fruitful tress, and sleep after sunrise are subjected to remain in hell, and they won't be excused; one and all should protect the cows as far as possible. The one who will kill cows will remain in hell for ever. The protectors of the cows will remain in heaven, and they will be called as gods. The author says that he has described the qualification of the cow in a limited way according to his sense. All should know that there can be no virtue without taking proper care of cows. Those who will pay attention will have good result of it, and can have the thing a man desires for going to heaven. O,God! thou art styled as the destroyer of the wicked and protector of all. The cows are put into great trouble, come soon and take care. Do as good to me as thou dost to others. Feeling much trouble in day and night. Please attend to the prayer of the author and come and help me.

O, God! whenever we were put to trouble you came and saved us, now we have submitted ourselves to you; please save us from this trouble, and get us out of the dark well. O Krishna! thou art styled as *Gaurakshak* (cow protector), and thou art the cause of the four Vedas (Hindu scriptures). For the sake of protecting Brahmins and cows you had taken the incarnation of Krishṅa. Please come soon and take our care:

you are kind to all. Cow says O, God! you see the Muhammadans surrounding me, are killing me for the sake of flesh. In this way saying fell on the ground thinking her death to be near. Now this is unbearable; now come on and take care. There is no one else to help us. You should come and help us in the same way as you have been doing all along.

(No.10)

Letter of thanksgiving to the incarnation of virtue and supporter of cows, Babu Brahmadeo Narayan Singh Bahadhur of Narhan.
Godharma Pracharini Sabha of Dalsinghserai.

It is a matter of congratulation that the Manager of the estate of the said Babu visited this place on the 17th April 1893, when the energetic Manager of the local sabha, Babu Bulaqi Lal, interviewed him, and giving him a copy of the rules and forms of the Gorakshini Sabha, applied for donation and annual subscription towards the cow fund. He expressed his satisfaction on hearing the account of the Sabha's working and gave Rs. 50 on behalf of the Raja, Rs. 10 from his own pocket, and Rs. 5 as contribution from Munshi Jagdambi Sahai, Sarishtadar of the Raj, and thus illustrated the prestige of his fair-complexioned countrymen. We hope that other Anglo-Indians will imitate the example of the said Manager, and strive to do good to our country. The abovementioned amount will be annually paid by the Raja to the Sabha. We earnestly pray to God that he will be pleased to prolong the lives of the Raja and his Manager.

Well-wisher of the said estate,
Kasturi Lal, Secretary of Godharma Pracharini Sabha,
Dalsinghserai district, Darbhanga.

ENCLOSURE viii(b)

Specimens of Gaurakshini Literature From Saran

(No. 1.)

Salutation to Krishna or Govinda, who is the benefactor of the Universe, deities, cows, and Brahmins.

Anniversary of Chapra Gaurakhshini Sabha.

No anniversary was hitherto held of the Chapra Gaurakshini Sabha, which was established in 1887 by the Chapra Sanatan Dharma Pracharini Sabha (Assocation for the propagation of the old vedic religion). It has therefore been decided to celebrate the anniversary of this sabha every year in January. The public are therefore informed by means of this notice that the first anniversary of Chapra Gaurakshini Sabha will be held at the under-mentioned places on 1st and 2nd January 1890. It is therefore humbly solicited that people professing the old Vedic religion, as well as Muhammadans, Christians and people of other religion, will grace the meeting with their presence on the said occasion.

Business to be done:

On the morning of Wednesday, 1st January, Pandit Devi Dutt will perform divine service and sacrifice in the temple of Baba Dharm Nath, according to the old Vedic Shastra. On the same day and at the same place a Sabha will be held at 1 p.m., when the Manager will first give an account of the expenditure. After that Pandit Jagat Narayan will prove the principle of cow-preservation by means of quotations from the Vedas, Smriti, Puran, Koran, Bible and works of other religion; and Pandit Kishori Lal Goswami will give illustrations of the greatness and virtues of the cow from the Shastra.

The question of sending to England a telegram, expressive of our thankfulness, on account Prince Victor's visit to India, will also be considered.

On the evening of Thursday, 2nd January, at 5 p.m., Pandit Bisheshwar Jha and Baba Har Narayan Das will lecture on the cow. The question of establishing a representative Gaurakhshni Sabha at Bihar will then be considered, and Pandit Jagat Narayan will give a description of the several Gaurakhshini Sabhas established all over India.

Chapra Gaurakshini Sabha,

Awadh Bihari Saran Misra,
Chief Manager
The 26th December 1889.

(No. 2)

SRI HARI

You should all exert yourselves for the protection of the cow and the building of the cow-house, which would be a source of satisfaction to all persons. Annual report of the band of lecturers of preachers of the Indian Cow-preserving Associations is herewith attached.

O famine! be kind to cows. There is no one but yourself who can support cows and Brahmins.

Names of members, names of supporters of the band of lecturers, names of subscribers, account of cows, and statement of income and expenditure, published by Babu Jwala Singh under the orders of the band.

Printed at Amar Press, Dasaswamedh Ghat, Benares.

APPEAL

Gentlemen, do not be depressed at the sight of the expenditure incurred. This was the first year; hence it was necessary to provide all materials, &c. If the example of Seth Jadu Rae, Jawahir Mal, who has consented to give two maunds of flour, were imitated by other cow-loving people, and they were to assist the band of preachers just as people do assist Brahmins and ascetics in places of pilgrimage, the said association of preachers would then be able to extend the sphere of their operation.

This Association has saved the lives of 19 cows and received the gift of 7 cows. The names of the donors of cows are given below, with their numbers as entered in the receipt book of the Association.

1. This cow was given by Sakhi Panre of village Kaithi, district Arrah at the Brahmapur fair.
2. This ox was given at the fair by Ram Dhan Rae of village Kaithi.
3. This cow was given at the fair by Kulli Khan of village Kassiya.

May God give such good sense to all Muhammadans. Be ashamed, O you Hindus!

4. This cow was given at the fair by Indra Dayal Pathak of village Dharkhar.
5. This ox was given at the fair by Ghosi Baniya Nonibar of village Rustamganj, thana Nawanpur, district Patna.
6. This ox was given at the fair by Rangoo Koiri of village Brahmapur.
7. This ox was given by Mangroo Ahir of village Brahmapur.

May God give such good sense to all persons. All credit is due to Baba Jaddu Singh.

GORAKHSHA LIBRARY

All sorts of books and goods of Benares are procurable at this library. Whatever profit is made here is either given to the lecturers of the cow-protection movement or devoted to the cow-house fund. Whoever wishes to procure anything from here should address the undersigned.

Manager of Gorakhsha Library, Dasaswamedh, Benares.

History of the first year's working of the Indian Association of Gaurakhsha Lecturers.

The following account of the origin of the Indian Association of Gorakhsha lecturers is published for the information of all philanthropic gentlemen. O ye dear lovers of cows! Although by the grace of God and the favour of our just British Government and the exertions of cow-worshippers, about 100 cow-sheds and Gaurakshini Associations have been established, it is a matter of great sorrow that the slaughter of cows has not at all diminished, and butchers carry every day thousands of cows and bullocks. The cause of this is that villagers are often deceived by butchers and not infrequently sell cows to them knowingly for the sake of money. The want of preachers is the cause of all this. If there were sufficient preachers, such a sight would not be seen, and they would go about preaching in towns and villages the virtues of the cow and the evils of cow-slaughter. O friends! so long as these things are not explained to villagers, cow-slaughter cannot be stopped. It is, however, a matter of congratulation that some good-hearted men have girded up their loins for this cause. May god grant their desires.

THE FIRST VISIT OF THE INDIAN ASSOCIATION OF GAURAKHSHA LECTURERS

Dear Sirs! The first meeting of this band took place at Harihar *kshetra*. In the eighth month of 1888 a large tent was pitched on the bank of the river Mahi near the temple of Harihar Nath, and it was decorated with flags and sweet-scented leaves and flowers. The floor was covered with beautiful carpets, and chairs and tables arranged thereon, and lecturers commenced their work. Letters had been previously written to all Gaurakshini Associations, but the following gentlemen only had come: Pandit Jagat Narayan, Pandit Reva Shankar Gorji, Babu Thakur Das, Babu Ram Das, Babu Chunni Lal, and Babu Jwala Singh from Benares; Babu Rup Singh, Pandit Mahabir Pershad, Pandit Hargun Panre, Pandit Shukl Narayan, Pandit Sansar Nath Pathak, and Pandit Satya Narain from Arrah; Mahant lswar Singh from Patna; Babu Basdeo Narain, Babu Bhagwati Pershad, and Babu Bihari Singh From Chapra; and other cow-loving Brahmins.

First of all, Pandit Jagat Narain prayed to God, and thanked the Empress Victoria. Pandit Mahabir Pershad Panre then pointed out the evil consequences of cow-slaughter, and Pandit Hargun Panre dwelt on the wretched condition to which the peasantry had been reduced by cow-slaughter. He was followed by Pandit Shukl Narayan, who adduced evidence from Dharma Shastras in support of the principle of cow-protection. O friends! this gentleman is a mere youth, but his lectures are far superior to those delivered by his elders. May God give him long life. Pandit Sansar Nath Pathak then read out Bhojpuri poems, *taoni*, couplets, and *chaupai*. Villagers are gretly impressed with his preaching, and he is a devoted worshipper of cows. May God strengthen his devotion every day. In this fair six Muhammadans pledged themselves never

to take beef. May God inspire other Muhammadans with a similar feeling. The names of these Muhammadan gentlemen are given below-

1. Munshi Abu Hasan.
2. Maulvi Lateef Khan.
3. Nur Muhammad.
4. Din Muhammed.
5. Husein Bakhsh.
6. Nabi Bakhsh.

Names of persons who have given donations for the Association of Lecturers.

	Rs.
1. Pandit Jagat Narayan	50
2. Seth Ram Niranjan, Rais, Patna	25
3. Pandit Reva Shankar Gaurji	5
4. Babu Thakur Das, Rais, Benares	5
5. Babu Ram Dhari Sahae, Rais, Bakr Muzaffarpur	2
6. Babu Rup Singh, Rais, Amritsar.	2
7. Mahant of Harihar Nath	2
8. Pandit Vishwa Nath, spiritul guide of the Raja of Ramnagar, Champaran	2
9. Babu Debi Pershad and Babu Siddhi Pershad, Faujdar of Raja of Ramnagar, Champaran	2
10. Babu Basdeo Narain, Rais, Chapra	1
11. Babu Rana Tej Bahadur, Private secretary to Maharaja of Ramnagar, Champaran	1
12. Babu Rang Lal, Ramnagar, Champaran	1
13. Pandit Banmali, Ramnagar, Champaran	1
14. Babu Bhagwat Pershad, Muzaffarpur	1
15. Babu Ram Bihari Lal, Muzaffarpur	1
16. Seth Balasi Ram, Rais, Patna	1
17. Babu Shiva Dayal, Sham Lal, Benares	1
18. Pandit Kripa Ram, of Arya Samaj, Benares	1

19. Babu Jwala Singh, Benares	1
20. Money from the charity-box of the Association of Lecturers	10
Sale proceeds of furniture	3
Total	118

The Lecturers' Association cordially thanks the above-mentioned gentlemen, and expresses its gratefulness to Sèth Jadu Rae, Jawahir Mal, who gave two maunds of flour for feeding the lecturers of the Association. It also thanks Rae Goodur Sahae, who provided one day's dinner for the lecturers. May God continue to inspire them with the same feeling for ever. The sum of Rs. 118 was collected in this fair.

Expenses of the band of Lecturers.

		Rs.	A.	P.
Tent	–	49	0	0
Bamboos for the tent	–	5	0	0
Mats	–	2	8	0
Cost of feeding lecturers	–	10	0	0
Oil, Candles	–	0	10	0
Four stools	–	2	0	0
Boat hire for the carriage of tent and furniture from Patna to the fair	–	1	12	0
Post-cards sent to lecturers	–	1	8	0
Ropes for the tent	–	5	0	0
Cost of pickets	–	1	0	0
Straw	–	0	6	0
Two lamps	–	1	0	0
Boat hire for crossing the Mahanadi for 15 days	–	1	0	0
Cost of one telegram to Pandit Ganpati Misra of Ranchi, and one to Babu Govind Singh of Amritsar	–	1	0	0
Cost of printing rules, four receipt books, notices, account books, and one ream paper	–	13	4	0

Boat hire for the conveyance of tents to Benares	–	1 12 0
Distribution of books	–	5 0 0
Railway fare of Hargun Panre	–	2 0 0
Ditto Pandit Jagat Narain and Chaprasi	–	9 0 0
Pay of Kahar	–	1 0 0
Pay of Chaprasi	–	5 0 0
Railway fare of Pandit Mahibir Pershad	–	4 0 0
Miscellaneous charges	–	1 0 0
Total		123 0 0

FAIR HELD AT BRAHMAPUR IN ARRAH DISTRICT, IN THE MONTH OF PHAGOON, OR FEBRUARY.

Invitation letters had been issued for 1st March 1889 Pandit Jagat Narain, Pandit Har Narain (physician), came from Benares; Babu Govind Singh, Babu Rup Singh, Pandit Mahabir Pershad, Pandit Hargun, Pandit Shukla Narain, with his two pupils, Pandit Sansar Nath Pathak and Pandit Manishwar from Arrah; Pandit Durga Datt, Pandit Raghunath Pershad Upadhya, Babu Bisweswar Lal, Babu Harihar Pershad, Babu Krishna Lal and others came from Kurantadi. The lecturers carried on their work for five or six days consecutively. In this fair a Maulvi who had come from district Azamgarh put some questions, which were so ably answered by Pandit Jagat Narain that he went away confounded. The discomfiture of this Maulvi led four Muhammadans to renounce the use of flesh. Their names are Mohammed Ali, Raes, Tiktiq Ali Bakhsh of Dumraon, Ali Mohammad of Buxar, and Khuda Bakhsh of Ballia. The lives of 12 cows were saved in this fair.

Donations in aid of the Association.

	Rs.	A.	P.
Babu Siva Prassana Singh, Rais, Brahmapur	3	0	0
Babu Ram Churn of Ram Garh, Arrah	1	0	0
Babu Nathu Ram Rais, Buxar	1	0	0
From the charity box of the Association	25	0	0
From the charity box of the bazar	10	0	0
Total	40	0	0

Expenses of the Association of the Brahmapur fair.

	Rs.	A.	P.
Railway fare of five lecturers	4	11	6
Conveyance hire of tents.	2	8	0
Cost of feeding the cartman, cow-herd, and chaprasi	3	2	0
Cost of taking over five cows and bullocks	3	0	0
Miscellansous charges	1	0	0
Railway Fare of Har Narain	2	4	0
Ditto of a Chaprasi from and to Benares	2	4	0
Cost of feeding the lecturers	7	12	0
Crushed food for cows and bullocks	2	0	0
Conveyance and feeding charges of cows and bullocks and two servants who took them to the cow-house at Arrah	2	8	0
Railway fare of the cow-worshipper Pandit Jagat Narain of Benares	2	4	0
Total	32	1	6

RAMNAVAMI FAIR AT AJUDHIA

On the 6th of Chaitra the band of lecturers visited Ajùdhìa, and Pandit Ram Prasad, priest and Honorary Magistrate, placed the premises of the old school building at the disposal

of the Association, and the tent was pitched there. It is, however, a matter of regret that very few lecturers attended the meeting here. Only Pandit Jagat Narain and Bhai Jwala Singh came from Benares, and Pandit Mahabir Pershad and Pandit Hargun and Pandit Munishwar came from Arrah. One day Revd. Mr. Boman, with his four or five pupils, created a disturbance in the tent of the Association. They were at first told to go away, but expostulations proving of no avail, Pundit Jagat Narayan took a copy of the Bible, and on its basis preached abstinence from flesh. The missionary then entered into a discussion.

Clergyman: What is the harm in using flesh?

Pandit: Flesh is not the food of man.

Clergyman: God has created animals for the food of man.

Pandit: God has created flowers, fruits and vegetables for the food of man. Mark, God has said:-"I give you all seed producing vegetables growing on the earth, and all trees bearing fruits which produce seeds. These thou shalt eat. Bible, chapter 1, paragraph 19. Please say where has God sanctioned the use of flesh.

Clergyman: Animals are included in the term vegetables.

Pandit: You are very wise indeed to call living beings vegetables.

Clergyman: You also eat thousands of animalculae with the water you drink.

Pandit: For this reason it has been said: "You should strain water before drinking it." For the destruction of invisible insects we make penances and implore the Almighty to pardon the sins which we commit involuntarily. But God will never forgive such sins as are committed knowingly, as, for instance, the daily slaughter of animals for your food.

Clergyman: We do not slaughter animals; we simply eat what the Khansama lays on our table.

Pandit: Well, Sir, you say you simply eat what is laid on the table by your khansama. Suppose he puts poison before you; will you eat it?

The clergyman then went away, for truth always triumphs. After a short while two pupils of the clergyman, whose names were Manam Singh and Henry, came and vowed never to take beef. After this Husein Bakhsh of Lucknow and Rahim Khan, Karim-ud-din, and Maula Bakhsh of Faizabad renounced the use of beef. The rumour spread in the fair that Pandits had come from Benares, whose preaching caused Christians and Muhammadans to renounce the use of beef. This news reached the ears of Baba Jagannath Das, disciple of Baba Raghunath Das, and he sent an ascetic to call Pandit Jagat Narain. He conversed with the Pandit for a long time, and then said to him: "You have come up to Baba Raghunath Das, who is a devoted worshipper of Ram Chunder, and hence this news will reach the ears of that diety and he will fulfil the prophecy in the Ramayan: He is the benefactor of cows, Brahmins, deities, and saintly persons; he is the ocean of mercy and incarnation of God, Ram Chunder will now soon become incarnate and remove the troubles of the cow." He then assembled all the mendicants and told them to preach everywhere the dogma of cow-protection. He then gave Pandit Jagat Narain the title of Goraksha Charja, or protector of cows. The Pandit also delivered a very eloquent lecture which brought tears into the eyes of all the ascetics. He then distributed his books there and went to the place where Ramayani Baba performed his devotions. Here also he lectured and distributed his tracts, and thus pleasantly spent his time as long as the fair lasted.

Donations received in aid of the Association.

	Rs.	A.	P.
Baba Jivan Singh Panjabi	1	0	0
Ramayani Baba	1	0	0
From the charity box of the Assoc.	18	0	0
Babu Jagannath Das, disciple of Baba Raghunath Das	2	0	0
Total	22	0	0

Expenses of the Association.

	Rs.	A.	P.
Carriage hire of tent from Benares to Ajudhia and back	3	8	0
Railway fare of Pandit Mahabir Pershad and Pandit Hargun from Arrah to Ajudhia and back	7	4	0
Distribution of books	4	0	0
Cost of pickets	0	12	0
Feeding of lecturers	7	0	0
Kerosine oil	0	8	0
Railway fare of Pandit Jagat Narain and one servant	6	4	0
Servant's pay	4	0	0
Printing of notices, including the cost of paper	5	0	0
Miscellaneous	0	8	0
Total	38	4	0

BRAHMAPUR FAIR HELD IN BAISAKH

On the 25th April 1889 the band of preachers went to the Brahmapurfair, and pitching their tent on the north side of the tank, commenced their preaching. In this fair, Pandit Jagat Narain, Pandit Kishori Lal, poet, and Pandit Har Narain,

physician, came from Benares; Pandit Mahabir Pershad, Pandit Hargun, Pandit Shukla Narain, Pandit Sawsar Nath, Babu Rup Singh, and two students, came from Arrah; and Pandit Judu Shekhar came from Salimpur. As long as the fair lasted the work of lecturing proceeded smoothly. O friends ! this is the very fair in which thousands of cows used to be sold to butchers. In this fair also the lives of seven cows and bullocks were saved.

Donations received in aid of the Association.

	Rs.	A.	P.
Babu Narotam Singh Rais of Arrah	1	0	0
Babu Panch Kowri Lal Rais (landholder) of babhar in Arrah	1	0	0
Babu Siva Balak Lal, Rais Babhar in Arrah	1	0	0
Pandit Ramrakshak Tiwari of Arrah	1	0	0
Babu Faquar Chand Rais of Ghali in Patna	1	0	0
From the charity box of the Association	15	0	0
From the charity box of the Bazar	10	4	3
Total	30	4	3

Expenses of the Association.

	Rs.	A.	P.
Conveyance hire of the tents from Benares to the fair	1	6	0
Crushed food for the cows and bullocks	1	12	0
Railway fare of three lecturers from and to Benares	7	12	0
Carrage hire of tents to Arrah	1	0	0
Feeding charges of cattle and three servants for taking them to the cow-house at Arrah	2	8	0
Feeding charges of Lecturers	8	8	0
Feeding charges of three servants and one soldier who had esoorted the			

cattle from Arrah	3	0	0
Railway fare of five lecturers to Arrah	2	8	0
Ransoming a cow and a bullock from the hands of butcher	2	9	0
Total	30	12	3

RATH JATRA FAIR AT BENARES

On the 3rd June the tent was pitched on the platform of Seth Jani Mal Khan Chand and lecturers also assembled there and proceeded with their lectures. O friends! we cannot blame others when our supporters themselves obstruct our work. In this fair a Pandit offered us such opposition that we had to call in the aid of the police. Alas! the cause of cows can hardly prosper when such is the character of our Pandits. We would, however, pray to God that he may open the eyes of these Pandits that they may not again oppose the cause of the cow-mother. On seeing the defiant attitude of [name not legible] the kotwal, tahsildar, and thanadar of the city came there and removed him from that place. Pandit Mahabir Pershad of Arrah was lecturing at the time, and all the three gentlemen named above were much pleased to hear him, though they were all Muhammadans. When the tahsildar and the kotwal went away, the naib tahsildar, Yusuf Khan, called Pandit Mahabir and talked with him for a long time over the subject of cow-preservation. The Pandit then came to the place where he was lecturing.

Donations in aid of the Association.

	Rs.	A.	P
Babu Baij Nath, Rais (landholder), Benares	2	0	0
Pandit Reva Shankar, Gor	3	0	0

Babu Jai Krishna Das of Chunar	1	0	0
From the charity box of the Association	1	0	0
Total	7	0	0

Expenses of the Association.

	Rs.	A.	P.
Conveyance hire of tents from Arrah to Benares	1	8	0
Feeding charges of the lecturers	2	4	0
Railway fare of two lecturers from and to Arrah	5	12	0
Total	10	8	0

Total income and expenditure of the whole year.

Fair	Income			Expenditure.		
	Rs.	A.	P	Rs.	A.	P.
Harihar Kshetra	118	0	0	122	0	0
Brahmapur	30	5	0	30	15	0
	40	0	0	32	1	6
Rath Jatra, Benares	7	0	0	10	8	0
Adjudhia	23	2	0	38	4	0
Total	21	7	0	233	28	6

The Association thanks its supporters and leturers cordially. Readers, this Association has two classes of supporters, viz., lecturers and persons who assist with money. Persons desirous of becoming supporters of the Association of either class should read and accept the undermentioned rules, and communicate with us on the subject, when their names will be enrolled among the supporters and patrons of the Association.

Rules of the Indian Association of Gauraksha Lecturers.

1. This Association will be called the Association of Goraksha Lecturers.
2. The object of this Association will be to point out to the public the good results arising from the preservation of cows and the evil consequences of slaughtering them.
3. No religious controversy will be allowed at the meetings of the Association, nor will any such subjects be discussed as can be thought seditious.
4. This Association will never do anything that is calculated to injure the cause of cow-preservation, cow-houses or Gaurakshini Associations.
5. It will also be a duty of the Association to preach in villages, but this will be done by lecturers paid by the Association. Any member of the Association who may voluntarily offer to lecture in villages will be at liberty to do so.
6. All persons of whatever caste can be members of this Association if they make the following promise. The pledge runs thus: "I solemnly promise, before God, that I will never eat the flesh of any animal, nor drink wine, but will try my utmost to dissuade people from their use and always preach the good done by the cow-mother.
7. Any person who acts in opposition to the object of this Association will be considered neither a well-wisher of the cows, nor a protector of cows, nor a member of the Association.
8. Every member of the Association shall have to pay at least Re. 1 a year, and any member can pay more if he likes. The Managing Committee of members will have the power of exempting any member from the payment of the subscription if they think it proper to do so.
9. The general management of the Association will be vested

in the hands of the managing committee, which will consist of not more than ten and not less than seven members.

10. All donations received by means of the lectures of the Association will be given to the goshalas (cow-houses) which require such help, or to such goshalas as the majority of the members may decide. The Association shall have the power of altering its rules with the consent all the members.

Any one wishing to be a member of this Association should communicate with the undersigned-

Pandit Jagat Narain, Indian Gaurakhsa Lecturers' Association, Dasaswammedh, Benares.

ENCLOSURE viii(c)

Abstract translation of Patras circulated in Shahabad

No.1. This is the prayer of Jagdeo Bahadur Singh to all Hindus for the protection of the cow.

No Hindu should engage any Pleader, Mukhtear, Maulvi on behalf of Muhammadans in the case which recently occurred in Ghazipur. Those engaging themselves should be deprived of their caste. After reading this letter it should be copied and circulated to five villages, otherwise there will be a sin at their door.

No.2. This is my entreaty to all Hindus that Muhammadans who always slaughter cows in the Bakr-Id festival should be disappointed in the future by Hindus refusing to sell to them.

No.3. Same as No.1.

No.4. Same as No.1.

No.5. Jagdeo Bahadur Singh and Moti Singh pray that Hindus should never employ Muhammadan vakils, &c., in cases, or have any money transactions with them.

No.6. Same as No.2, with the addition that the Hindus

should, where opportunity, do mischief to the Muhammadans.

No.7. Same as No.6.

No.8. Same as No.6.

No.9. Same as No.2.

No.10. Same as No.1.

H. Le MESURIER,
(Copy.)
The 24th October 1893.
H.P.& C.E.G.-Reg. No.5318C-176-23-11-93.

Letter from T. M. Gibbon to A. Forbes, Commissioner, Patna Division

Dated Bettiah, the 1st September 1893.
Demi-official
From: T.M. Gibbon, Esq., C.I.K.,
To A. Forbes, Esq.,

Your kind note of the 12th instant, accompanying Government confidential circular of the 8th instant, came to hand a day or two ago. I will now try and put my thoughts on the subject of it to paper and trust they may be of some use to you.

2. I am perfectly convinced in my own mind that the leaders of the movement are acting purely and solely from political motives; that their ultimate object and end is to excite the people to sedition to the subversion of the British power, but at the same time it is only fair to say that if you ask me for proof I can give none; be it the outcome of long and intimate relationships with natives, or the impressions left on my mind from unrecorded conversations with them, the conviction is there and has fast hold of me.

3. If I could think their leaders were acting from purely religious motives, however much I might differ with them with reference to their mode of attaining their ends, I should be less anxious as to the outcome of it all.

4. Were I assured that the devisers of the scheme were all orthodox Hindus, and that Muhammadans and so-called Hindus were not acting in concert or on some pre-arranged lines, I would not think so seriously as I now do of our danger, danger to the governing race.
5. For several years past I have believed that restless but able men have been plotting against our rule, but whether they are planning an agrarian uprising, a religious war or a direct attempt to wrest the country from us, I was not sure. We may yet live to see the day when an attempt is made to combine the three.
6. Within the last few years Bettiah has been visited by Muhammadan gentlemen, Hindu scholars, gentlemen from southern India, Dukshini Brahmins, Egyptian travellers, men above want, and for whom Bettiah would otherwise have no attraction, some bringing us letters of introduction from highly-placed officials, others who have received a letter to one native gentleman and by him introduced to us and to others.
7. The knowledge of India, its princes and people possessed by some of these men would shame our best Encyclopedias. A Muhammadan gentleman called on me only a few months ago; he stated he had not been to Bettiah for several years previously, yet he could enquire after the dead and living as if he were an old inhabitant.
8. Although I am at this late date unable to realise the whole of their plot or scheme, I am convinced their coming and going boded us no good.
9. Had they confined their visits to the time of the late Maharajah's residence at Bettiah, I might have given them credit for visiting us on begging expeditions, but this has not been the case. Whether the Maharajah was living at Segowlee or Calcutta they visited Bettiah.

10. One gentleman from Southern India has visited us several times during the last few years – how often I cannot tell. That gentleman came to us in the first instance with letters of introduction from Nipal. The first time he came to us his ostensible motive for visiting us was to raise funds for a charitable institution, I think, in the Carnatic – the last time for pleasure! or as he put it to me to look up his old friends. I saw that gentleman sitting in the train in one guise at Bettiah. I saw him leave the train at Segowlee in another; he again visited me at Bettiah from seeing the Maharaja at Segowlee in a third – for what purpose?

11. Some few years ago, I think in 1889, I had a visit from the Prince of Sherpur; he produced letters addressed to him by many highly-placed officials to vouch for his respectability. He was an unmitigated scamp but with a grievance. He did not hesitate to tell me that his father was living in Bulgaria in the pay of Russia, and that our Government had intercepted his reasonable correspondence with his father, and with the Tibetans when we took Sikkim.

12. A short time ago I was visited by a Muhammadan gentleman who informed me that he had travelled all over Egypt for pleasure, that he was born in Asiatic Turkey, but only knew one sentence in Russian; he also had come to India and to Bettiah for pleasure, but did not state in what his pleasure consisted .

13. If our Government would but watch it, they have the best political barometer in the world in the native money market, and that barometer is now pointing to serious trouble to our Government. Every banker is calling in his dues, and will not part with money on any terms. Distrust is rampant in every bazar.

14. Bankers of position are withdrawing from their pledged promises wherever feasible. Put what I have here said to very

simple test. Call upon your district registrars to report the number of loans (other than renewals) registered within the last month or two of this year as aginst the same months of any two previous years or more.

15. That the money-market is the best barometer possible was brought home to me during the Afghan war. During the time Sir Frederick Roberts was hemmed in by the Ghazees at Sherpur, the market took alarm, and most of our creditors came to us at once from Benares to recover their money. A telegram from Messrs. Gillanders, Arbuthnot & Co., informing me of Sir Frederick Roberts' victory, dispersed them at once.

16. It is the constant going and coming of these gentleman and the falling of the money-market barometer which have forced the conviction upon me that mischief has been brewing for some time.

17. It is not often that I leave Bettiah and when I do, it is only to visit some portion of my own districts – Saran, Benares or Muzaffarpur – but wherever I go I mix freely with natives of all station in life.

18. That my province is ripe for rebellion, or even ready to oppose the declared wishes of my Government, I do not believe, but there is no hiding the fact that there is an ill-defined feeling of insecurity abroad, a general distrust and suspicion of our Government and its motives: the minds of the people from the highest to the lowest are in fit state to be worked upon by the ill-disposed, and believe me they are now being worked upon to some purpose. In Bihar and in the North-Western Provinces there is a general belief abroad that all our Government does is governed by purely selfish motives. Our irresponsible writing, our habit of threatening when we do not immediately get our own way with them, added to our general levelling propensities are destroying the loyalty of

Bihar, the most loyal people in India; we are losing all touch with them.

19. That the bulk of the population is as yet ready to rebel, or even disloyal, I do not believe. A rebellion to be successful against a strong power like ours is would require to be very general, to be backed by the majority of the nation and to raise the nation; they require a war cry and leaders.

20. However irritated people may be, after 30 odd years of peaceful Government their minds will require educating before they take the final plunge, and that is what is now being done for them.

21. Unless the Government is prepared to throw in its lot with the Muhammadans, a religious war cry, such as they are now raising, will have the advantage to them of destroying all touch with the people, will band them together as nothing else will, çonstant disturbances will destroy the slothful state of their minds, constant fighting will supply them with their natural leaders.

22. The great bulk of the Hindu people are moved in this matter by their religious belief; many Hindus and Muhammadans by restlessness and love of lawlessness, but the few, the real masters of the movement, are solely influenced by a deep-rooted hatred of our rule and a determination to get rid of it by any means, at any cost.

23. I fancy if you have had the patience to read as far as this, you think it is about time I replied to some of the Government questions and dropped my views on the general subject; my only excuse for trying your patience as long as I have done is that unless you know the ideas that are governing and influencing me, you cannot gauge the information, I may at any time give you, at its proper value.

A history of the movement in my district.

24. I believe that all religious thought in this country is more or less influenced from certain centres, and that the area over which a centre's influence is distributed is often dependent on or is governed by the extent of the intimacy between the peoples.
25. Taking Gaya and Benares as the two most influential centres of religous thought in Bihar, and all families of position in my district having more intimate relationship with Benares than with Gaya, it stands to reason that we will be more affected by what takes place in Benares and the North-West generally than we will be by what is going on to the south.
26. When the idea was started at Benares some few years ago to send Raja Siva Prasad to England and of otherwise influencing the Government to put a stop to cow-killing in this country, the whole subject created great interest in these parts.
27. When Sriman Swami, otherwise known as Gow Swang, the self-consitituted, unpaid Secretary to the Allahabad Committee, appeared at Bettiah in 1888 to organise Provincial Committees, the people did not require much to persuade them to join; he found the way had been smoothed for him.
28. The first committee consisted of Brij Buns Lall Misr and other members. With the assistance of this committee he raised funds.
29. When the Maharaja left for Calcutta, the above named official members resigned as they had to accompany him, and were replaced by Munshi Mahabhir Prasad, my Sherishtadar, as President, Pundit Soorooj Narain, my clerk, now my telisidar, as Secretary, and Hajari Mull, a banker, as cashier.
30. The Maharaja Bahadur was induced to subscribe Rs. 2,000 towards the general fund at Allahabad.

31. I was away at England at the time, but on my return I was so suspicious of the whole movement that I wrote to Raja Shiva Prasad and also to a man who is now dead to enquire regarding it particularly. I was warned to keep aloof from it and to keep the Maharaja aloof from it also.

32. The information I received I forwarded to the Maharaja, who also informed me that he had heard the man Sriman Swami belonged to the Congress party.

33. The circular of the Central Committee declares the objects of the Association; their rules and bye-laws state how it is to be organized. As you probably have a copy of the rules and bye-laws to refer to, I will only refer to them inasmuch as to point out:

1st. That they are signed Sriman Swami only. Sriman I take to be a title or address of respect such as Mr. or Esquire or Babu. Sri Swami is a caste of South India.

2nd. The circular is issued under the authority of the Central Committee, Allahabad; the bye-laws are alleged to have been framed by them, but no names are given; there is nothing to show who the Committee consists of; in fact it seems to me all parties are most careful to conceal their identity.

3rd. The bye-laws inform us how the Association is to be organised, but carefully abstains from telling us how the different Committees are to proceed or what to do when organised.

4th. The bye-laws tell us that all funds collected are at the absolute disposal of the Central Committee, and the "Provincial Committees shall not act independently of the Central Committee".

34. Whether Sriman Swami has visited Bettiah or not since then I am unable to find out. I am told he was in Saran sometime ago, but he has a few active agents about. My men deny all knowledge of who they are in this district, but tell me they

know of two in Saran – one Bhagwutti Churun of Dholub, and one known as Hansus Sarup of Dhoolessuna (an assumed name). The last two are stated to be most active from Muzaffarpur to Segowlee. Perhaps someone in one of our neighbouring districts will provide you with names of his Champaran disciples.

35. Regular committees are only formed in towns (I believe), where subscriptions are raised and funds formed, but emissaries are sent from village to village to induce the people to join the movement, to preach to them, to inform them of any disturbance, and to induce them to interest themselves generally in the movement.

36. The men mainly engaged in spreading the Gourakshini tenets are all belonging to the mendicant fraternites. These go about exhorting the people to join all over the country. Duchini Brahamns who go from village to village preaching with or without the use of books and Brahmins from the North-West. These latter sing the praises of the leaders of the disturbances in the North-Western Provinces and call down curses on all who are alleged to have befriended the Muhammadans.

37. If our Local Committee has supplied the Central Committee with funds, I have not heard of it. The Central Committee appears to me to have hitherto been satisfied with receiving the larger donations such as the Rs. 2,000 my Maharaja gave and have left the control of the local funds to the Local Committee.

38. Preachers requiring funds to take them from place to place or over-zealous men in trouble apply to the local fund for assistance with assurance.

39. This new "tenet" has taken great hold of the Kaith class; they have joined to a man.

40. It was at one time proposed that every Hindu should set

aside a percentage or his daily food for the benefit of the general fund, but this has not worked as it was hoped it would.
41. I think the village population sympathise in the movement, but all have not pledged themselves to it as yet; but should any one find himself in trouble over it, all would give something towards defraying his expenses.
42. The Government wishes to know the names of the emissaries and the persons who harbour them. This it will be impossible to inform you of. They mostly come to us under assumed names, or the people will not enquire their names, or will not give them up if they know them. As to who will harbour them? Every Hindu will. The Powari Jee of Bykuntpore is alleged to be the prime mover of the movement in these parts. All Bettiah would deem it an honour to feed him at any time, both him and his followers.
43. Pictures and pamphlets are being distributed and much is being done by them to upset the public mind, but I do not think so much harm is being done by them as is being done in other ways.
44. The passions of the people are being played upon in many ways. Whenever a disturbance takes place, the news of it is distributed quickly to all parts of the country. Often the people have a shrewd guess of a disturbance about to take place, and although they do not know the exact spot it will come off, make a fair guess at it.
45. Muzaffarpur, Darbhanga: For days before this Basuntpore disturbance took place, we heard constant rumours of disturbances having taken place, first in one place, then in another, all in the direction of the actual spot that it eventually came off in. Before the Burrereah case came off the Superintendent of Police told me that he had heard one was likely to come off near there; one was expected to come off at Motihari last Friday, but was nipped in the bud by the authorities. The people

now persistently talk of one coming off near Segowlee, so I would not be surprised if we have one there soon.

46. I am told, but I do not know with what truth, that all these disturbances are fomented by large bodies of the mendicant classes – Nagas and Powaries. I am told that at Motihari, Nagas appeared. This would go to show (if true) that they are all planned before hand. Wherever they go they plan mischief.

47. All[6] who take part in them, particularly any prominent men, are belauded over the country. All who assist to keep the peace or befriend the Muhammadans are held up to opprobium. People are enjoined by word of mouth and by letter not to give them "pernam." not to join in any marriage ceremonies; in fact to outcaste them. People are enjoined not to look at a *taziah*; if they do, they will be called upon to do heavy penances. Letters are sent about to say that butchers are about the country and cows are weeping. The woes of the cows are bewailed all over the country .

48. Their first attempts were confined to stopping the killing of cows on the Muhammadan Eed; their present attempt is a more ambitious one, viz, to stop the supply of beef for our troops.

49. The alarm and anger of the people are being excited by reports of Hindus defiling Muhammadan mosques, and of Muhammadans intending to throw bones into Hindus temples. They are being encouraged by being told that the Hindu police are with them. The Muhammadans are being alarmed by being told the Sirkar is too weak to protect them, and lately by reports of pressure being brought to bear on the Nipal Government to intercede for or assist the Hindus. They even

---

6 Jugdeo Bahadur, Imrith Nath Tewari, Ramessur Sing, Byjoo Rai, Perai Sing, Tupsee Dooeby

go so far as to say that large numbers of mendicant classes are visiting Nipal with the direct object of doing so.

50. Among the Muhammadans it is as yet different; there are among them who would welcome a general disturbance as there are among all people; in fact some returning from Motihari last Friday were heard regretting that some one had not thrown a clod! but wherever they are in the minority as they are here, they have confined their efforts to forming vigilance committees and keeping themselves informed of what is going on, and if possible in touch with Europeans.

Regarding measures to be taken by Government.

51. The Government wishes to know whether by appealing to the leading Muhammandans and Hindus they cannot promote mutual forbearance. If their attempts were confined to the kiling of kine for the use of the Muhammadan community alone, some good might be done in this way, but what possible good can come of appealing to the leaders of the different village or town communities when their attacks are directed against the men who are rightly or wrongly alleged to be purchasing cattle for the use of our troops at different stations such as Dinapore, & c. ?

52. The publication of His Honour's speech in the vernacular has done good and immediate good; it has given Muhammadans fresh confidence in the power of the Government to protect them, and given the Hindus a warning. Do not spoil the effect of it by any such weakness.

53. Force every butcher to take out a license to kill, and insist on his stating where he will kill, and allow no killing elsewhere. I would even go a step further, and allow no purchasing of cattle for slaughter, excepting under licence; although I am not a Hindu I would not sell a calf or a bullock to a

butcher knowing that he was such. Why should a Hindu have not the same privilege of refusing to do so ?

54. Do not grant such licences for the occasion, but only once every year.

55. Give them all the protection you can in their trade, of their place of business and along the road.

56. Hunt down the principal conspirators, beginning with the Central Committee downwards.

57. When you have occasion to order your police to fire use ball and not blank cartridge, fire low and hang the first policeman who fires in the air.

58. And last and least insist on all members of large mendicant communities remaining at their maths or bustees, and do not permit them to go about the country in large numbers together.

P.S.: We English are a lucky race; thank God they have rushed it as they have.

Letter from H.J.S. Cotton to the Commissioner of the Patna Division

No. 912J.-D.

From: H.J. S. Cotton, Esq, C.S.I., Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal,
To: The Commissioner Of The Patna Division.
Dated: Calcutta, the 8th November 1893.
Judicial.

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you that the Officiating Lieutenant-Governor has attentively perused your report, dated 27th October 1893, on the agitation regarding kine-killing, and that he desires me to thank you for the care and labour you have bestowed in preparing it. The enclosures to the report are valuable and useful documents.

2. From the perusal of these papers His Hononur has formed the following opinions:- The first opinion is that this agitation did not arise spontaneously in Bihar, but was started by propagandists from outside the Province; that these propagandists commenced operations by speaking at fairs and markets; that afterwards they created or stimulated the extension of associations in towns and villages; that the objects of these

Source: IOL: J&P 257(?)/1894

associations were at first unobjectionable; that many associations have adhered to the original blameless religious objects; that without doubt many more have degenerated from these objects; that most, if not all the foreign agents, and many of the local men, have gone beyond the primary object of the movement, and have incited to creed-antagonism and a general resolve to violently prevent kine-slaughter in any circumstances; that these propagandists and their confederates have sought to enforce this prohibition by temporal and spiritual terrorism; that among Muhammadans in certain localities there are symptoms of a counter-agitation; and, lastly, that Muhammadans have here and there grossly outraged Hindu feeling.

3. The second important opinion His Honour has formed is that, although the local officers were from the beginning to some degree aware of the existence of this agitation, they yet abstained from taking any active steps to obtain information of a precise and accurate character regarding the propagandists, and from adopting effectual measures to restrict or stop the illegal developments of the movement. It is stated in the Saran report, for example, that a notorious propagandist from Ballia made preaching excursion into the Saran district with a gang of 200 or 300 disciples last May, without effective supervision from the district authorities. It is stated in the Darbhanga report that inflammatory pamphlets were in circulation without even copies having been procured for the Magistrate's inspection; that police officers were well aware of the dissemination of such incitations to violence; and that even cattle were forciblly rescued without report being made to the Magistrate.

4. The last opinion, I am to notice, as having been formed by His Honour from a perusal of these papers, is that the chief or among the chief local agents for promoting this move-

ment were Government officials, connected with the local courts, schools, and post-offices. The organisation of the Civil Government has in fact been used by the propagandists for the dissemination of their opinions and the enforcement of their objects, without any questionings from the district authorities.

5. The explanation of the quiescent attitude on the part of the district authorities is suggested by Mr. Williams, Collector of Darbhanga. As the movement was supported by so many gentlemen of position and respectability, it was thought that the movement should be free from interference, even in its more questionable developments. Practically the only measures taken by District Officers appear to have been the collection of some information of an imperfect character for the Special Branch Office, the punishment of a few rioters, and the quartering of additional police on some disturbed localities.

6. In view of the lines on which this agitation has now developed, and of the serious riots and bloodshed to which it has led, District Officers will themselves see that this attitude of quiescence can be no longer maintained. Whatever be the religious sentiment on this subject, there can be no doubt that the methods by which it has in many cases been enforced are illegal; and therefore, while District Officers should not interfere with , but on the contrary should assist, associations which keep within the letter and spirit of the law and their own blameless intentions, the inflammatory propaganda, and the exhortations which stir up animosity and ill-will, and have already led to bloodshed, must, wherever they are found to exist, be forthwith checked. The same treatment must be meted out to Muhammadan as to Hindu agitators. To this end His Honour calls attention to the following points, and desires that they (*inter alia*) shall receive the immediate and

continuous attention of district executive authorities.

7. *First.* As it is shown that the cattle fairs and markets are among the localities selected by inflammatory propagndists for their operations, care must be taken to depute to every fair or market frequented by such persons a force of police sufficient to maintain order. If the languagae of any speaker is inflammatory and likely to lead to a breach of the peace, his words should be recorded, and the police officer many then, if necessary, proceed under Chapters V and XIII of the Criminal Procedure Code, and section 23, Act V of 1861, to disperse the audience and arrest any person, if this be necessary for the prevention of an offence or of the abetment of an offence.

Secondly. As it is shown that some itinerant propagandists have been forward in exciting the passions of people throughout the villages, and endangering the public peace, persons who make such inflammatory appeals or who can give no satisfactory account of themselves should be dealt with under Chapter VIII, Criminal Procedure Code.

Thirdly. As it is shown that some societies have at meetings adopted resolutions which have directly produced creed-animosity and led to breaches of the peace, the Magistrates should inform themselves of the existence, objects, ramifications and membership of all such societies, and of their methods of working. If evil results seem likely to again accrue from the action of such societies, the Magistrate should remonstrate with the leading members, and endeavour to induce them to remove the causes of dissatisfaction and dismiss any offending agents. If such remonstrances fail of effect, action should be taken in regard to such societies under section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code; or for offences under Chapter XXII of the Penal Code. As there are reasons to believe that in certain cases foreigners (being Marwaris

and others) have been prominent in instigating and fomenting disturbances, attention is drawn to section 3, Act III of 1864, as an alternative procedure. District Officers may move for the removal from British territory of any such persons whenever there is good and substantial reason for believing that such persons are either disturbers of the peace or instigators of such disturbances.

Fourthly. In cases of criminal intimidation, or when coercion is used to force men into unlawful ways, and they through fear or other cause will not complain to the Magistrate, the police should act upon the powers vested in them by sections 23 and 24, Act V of 1861, and apply for legal process against the offenders.

Fifthly. It is shown by these documents that inflammatory propagandists have been supported by societies of which Government officials were members; it is even stated tht Government officials have harboured men of that class. The Officiating Lieutenant-Governor condemns the connexion of officials with associations leading to proceedings of an inflammatory character, and if hence-forward any officer is found to be a member of a society or association which foments or countenances inflammatory proceedings, he should be at once required to resign his connexion with the society. In the present excited state of public feeling, District Officers should exercise their power of forbidding, whenever they consider it right, any public officer from having connexion with societies of a character tending to disturb the public peace: such connexion seriously weakens his usefulness as a public servant.

8. You will perceive that the preceding instructions, which are not meant to exhaust the field of executive action in this matter, imply that special energy and activity must be thrown into district work in this connexion. His Honour relies on the District Officers, whose staff has been considerably reinforced,

to exercise an intelligent control over this activity, and to employ their best and most reliable subordinates on duties requiring tact and judgment.

9. From the remarks made in this connexion in the Resolution recorded on the last Administration Report on the Patna Division, and published in the Gazette of the 1st instant, you will notice the importance His Honour attaches to holding landlords strictly to such responsibility as the law attaches to their position. It is to be hoped that District Officers during their approaching tours will not lose sight of that important matter. In the same Resolution it was stated that "the Hindus of Bihar .... may be assured of the support of Government in all legitimate efforts to restrict within the customary limits the slaughter of kine by non-Hindus, if these limits have been transgressed, and to ensure that kine-killing shall not be effected, no matter what past practice may have been, in a way to outrage Hindu feeling." District Officers should lose no opportunity of giving effect to the principles thus laid down. They should, where kine-slaughter has been usual in any village and is now objected to, endeavour to make the best arrangements possible, having due regard to custom and the necessities of the case. This may often be effected by appointing a particular place or places for kine-slaughter-an arrangement which may be enforced under Chapter XI of the Criminal Procedure Code or under the municipal law.

10. If effect be adequately given to the instructions now enjoined on District Officers in connexion with this agitation-and His Honour's remarks are applicable to Muhammadan as to Hindu agitators and propagandists, it is to be hoped that the excitement which exists will be mitigated. In particular, the officiating Lieutenant-Governor expects from it good effects in removing the proximate incitements to illegal coercion and riots. In your letter under notice you seem to re-

gard the quartering of additional police as the chief means of repressing disturbances. It is no doubt an efficient means of preserving the peace, but its employment is an admission of the inability of the ordinary district executive power to cope with an emergency; and though recourse must be had at times to that measure, its use ought not to be the chief means of the executive for the preservation of the public tranquility.

I have the honour to be,
Your most obedient servant,
H. J. S. Cotton,
Chief Secretary to the Govt. of Bengal.

W.M.D.C.-Reg. No. 5378C-340-14-11-93.

Letter from H.J.S. Cotton to the Government of India, Home Department

No. 4658J

From: H.J.S. Cotton, Esq., C.S.I., Chief Secretary to the
Government of Bengal,
To: The Secretary To The Government Of India.
Home Department .
Dated Calcutta, the 11th November 1893.
Judicial

Sir,

In submitting, for the information of the Government of India the enclosed copy of the marginally-noted papers[7] connected with the agitation against kine-killing in the Patna Division, I am directed to state that, so far as the points disclosed in the correspondence can be treated under the existing law, the Officiating Lieutenant-Governor thinks that they have been dealt with in the letter to the Commissioner of

---

7 Letter from the Commissioner of Patna, No.––, dated 27 October 1893, with enclosures.
Letter to the Commissioner of Patna, No.––, dated 6th November 1893.

Patna. That letter has been laid before, and has received the full concurrence of the Hon'ble the Advocate-General. The question of strengthening the existing law has been considered separately in my letter No. 849J.D., dated the 28th October 1893.

2. I am to add that Sir Antony MacDonnell does not take the same pessimistic view of the situation that Mr. Gibbon does in his observations which are an enclosure to the letter from the Commissioner of Patna.

I have the honour to be,
Your most obedient servant,
H.J.S. Cotton,
Chief Secretary to the Govt. of Bengal

British Monarch Queen Victoria to Viceroy Lord Landowne (8.12.1893)

The Queen greatly admired the Viceroy's Speech on the cow-killing agitation. While she quite agrees in the necessity of perfect fairness, she thinks the Muhammadans do require more protection than Hindus, and they are decidedly by far the more loyal. Though the Muhammadan's cow-killing is made the *pretext* for the agitation, it is, *in fact*, directed against *us*, who kill far more cows for our army, &c, than the Muhammadans. If, however, (as the Queen Empress suggested, and the Viceroy wrote to her, had been carried out), influential and impartial people of both religions can lay down rules to avoid these outbreaks and outrages, it is to be (hoped?) that much evil may be averted.

Viceroy Lord Lansdowne's Minutes on the Anti-kine Killing Movement (28.12.1893)

1. If I have, from the first, been opposed to the adoption of violent, or precipitate measures for controlling this agitation, it has certainly not been because I looked upon it with indifference, or under-rated the risks to which it exposes us; on the contrary, I doubt whether, since the Mutiny, any movement containing in it a greater amount of potential mischief has engaged the attention of the government of India. The magnitude of the danger arises from this, that the agitation has supplied the whole of the disloyal elements to be found in the Indian community with a popular backing which they could not have obtained from any other source. The case presents a close analogy to that which has arisen in Ireland. Just as the Home Rule movement was comparatively powerless while its supporters limited their demands to political and constitutional reforms; so, I believe, would any purely political movement in India be innocuous while it represented nothing more than the vague political aspirations of the half-educated classes, and asked for nothing more embarrassing than such reforms as the reconstitution of the Legislative Councils, or the amendment of the Arms Act, or the separation of the Judicial from the Executive. But, as in Ireland, the

---

Source: IOL:L\P&J\257\1894 Viceroy Lord Lansdowne's minute on the anti-kine killing movement: 28.12.1893.

Home Rule movement became really formidable from the moment when Mr. Parnell's sagacity connected it with the Agrarian question, and thereby gave a material interest in Home Rule to every Irish peasant, so in India the unrest and discontent which have found expression in the Congress movement and in other political combinations, will, I am afraid, become infinitely more dangerous now that a common ground has been found upon which the educated Hindus and the ignorant masses can combine their forces.

2. I am, therefore, by no means disposed to treat the danger which has arisen with contempt, but I am strongly of opinion that we shall render it more dangerous still if by precipitate, or ill-considered, action we afford a new stimulus to the movement, or if we are frightened into departing by an inch from the attitude of strict neutrality which the Government of India has hitherto observed in dealing with all such questions.

3. It should be remembered that, as Sir Antony MacDonnell has pointed out, (see paragraph 2 of Bengal Government letter of October 28th), we have to deal not with a difficulty of recent origin, but with one of old standing which, partly owing to the revival of orthodox Hinduism, partly owing to the political unrest prevalent amongst the educated Hindus, partly owing to the tendency of the people to organise and to communicate to an extent undreamt of before the means of communication and locomotion had been rendered as easy as they are at the present time, is for the moment passing through an exceptionally acute stage.

4. The position is the more complicated, because the movement is prima facia a legal and blameless one. The extent of

this difficulty is well illustrated by Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick's proposal (see paragraph 9 of his Note) to take measures for the purpose of stopping organised agitation on the subject of cow-killing, "even if it stops short of criminal intimidation" , and at the same time to allow the people to "hold quiet meetings as they would have done in a similar case long ago, to collect money for these gaushalas, or arrange for their administration". I do not see how it would be possible to discriminate successfully between "quiet meetings" of this kind and meetings of a dangerous sort. The agitation is, as Mr. Deas has said, a lawful one, and cannot be interfered with so long as its operations are ostensibly restricted to lawful objects.

5. Another point which should, I think not be lost sight of is that these Anti-cow-killing Associations are by no means the only element of danger with which we have to contend. The itinerant preachers who traverse the country, passing from fair to fair, are probably more dangerous in disseminating the propaganda of the movement than the local societies with their elaborate rules framed upon European lines; while beyond these vagrant apostles lies the whole machinery of a secret local organisation, working by underground methods, about which we probably know very little, and leaving upon the surface no track or trace of its proceedings. Even if we were successful in crushing the Associations out of existence, and in arresting, or expelling, the most conspicuous missionaries of the movement, there is, I am afraid, too much reason to suppose that it would survive in spite of us.

6. For another reason I should hesitate to resort to special legislation of the kind which Sir Charles Crosthwaite has proposed. His legislation would no doubt be ostensibly of gen-

eral application, but such a law would in reality be aimed at the Sabhas, and every one would be aware of this. Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick (see paragraph 10 of his Note) shows that the North-Western Provinces draft is in fact directed against the Hindus, and this would be at once detected. We should, therefore, find that we had embarked in a struggle with the whole organisation of Hindu caste throughout India, – a struggle into which I, for one should not enter with a light heart, and which I would strain every effort to avoid. We were perilously near such a struggle when the Age of Consent Bill was under discussion, and we were fortunate in avoiding it as successfully as we did.

7. Another question which seems to me of great importance is this: Is it clear that the existing law is powerless for the purpose of dealing with circumstances such as those which have arisen? I should not like to express a confident opinion upon this point, but there is another as to which I think there can be little doubt. It is, I think certain that up to the present time the existing law has not received a fair trial. It is impossible to read the Bengal Government letter of 28th October, or that of the 8th of November to the Commissioner of the Patna Division, without coming to this conclusion. Sir Antony MacDonnell has pointed out with much force in paragraph 7 of the Patna letter that there are numerous means of dealing with itinerant preachers and with the societies, as well as the supporters and promoters of the movement, under various clauses of the Criminal Procedure and Penal Codes, and under Act V of 1861, means which have not yet been resorted to, or which have, at all events, not yet received a sufficient trial. Now of one thing we may be perfectly certain, and that is that, should the Government of India propose to resort to coercive legislation of an exceptional kind, the first question

which will be asked will be, whether the means provided by the existing law have received a fair trial, and have proved insufficient. Unless we are able to answer this question in the affirmative, and to produce conclusive evidence in support of our statement, I feel persuaded that proposals for repressive legislation will be if not altogether objected to, certainly criticised with the utmost jealousy, and probably whittled away by restrictions which will have the result of rendering our precautions worse than useless.

8. The only other observation of a general kind which I would offer here is that the above arguments apply with special force to all proposals for interference with the Indian Press. I say this, well knowing the immense harm which has been done by it, and the magnitude of the difficulties which it may create for us at a moment when a great popular movement is agitating the country, but I doubt extremely whether any minor alterations in the law, such as those which have been recommended to us, would have an appreciable effect. "The fact is", as Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick has said (paragraph 16 of his Minute), "that what is required in order to avert the most disastrous consequences at a time like this in India is not merely a power to stop the publication of false news, or comments conceived in an unfair spirit, or with a deliberate desire to irritate, but power to stop everything good, bad, & indifferent, in any paper, English or Vernacular, European or Native, which is likely to excite irritation in the minds even of unreasonable fanatical persons."

9. I am strongly of opinion that there is no prospect whatever of obtaining powers of this kind except under circumstances which have not yet arisen, and which are, I hope, not likely to arise.

10. Having made these general observations, I can compress within a very brief space what I have to say with regard to the specific proposals which have been made to us by the North-Western Provinces Government in their comments upon Sir Charles Crosthwaite's scheme:-

11. I am decidedly opposed to the adoption of Sir Charles Crosthwaite's recommendations for an alteration of the Law of Conspiracy. This proposal is, I am glad to see, more or less condemned by the whole of the Local Governments, except, Madras. I doubt whether Sir Charles Crosthwaite's Legal Advisor was full aware of the position in which the Law of Conspiracy stands in Great Britain. Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick has dealt fully with this point in paragraphs 5,6, and 7 of his Minutes, and I agree with what he has there said. The Indian Law, amended as proposed by Mr. Deas, would be "something widely different from the English Law of Conspiracy." I am bound to add that, for the reasons which I have given above, I am equally opposed to Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick's suggestion that Mr. Deas draft should be "simplified" by making it an offence to belong to a society, or to join in a conspiracy, or to attend a meeting, if the objects of the society, or conspiracy, or meeting, were likely to create such religious excitement, or such antipathy between persons of different religions, or sects, as might lead to a breach of the peace, or the commission of an offence. Such an enactment would, no doubt, be, for our purposes, a most convenient one, but I do not for a moment believe that we should be allowed to spread our net as widely as this. The Lieutenant-Governor's words are, I think, taken from the Vernacular Press Act of 1878.

12. I would amend Section 505 of the Penal Code, whenever the Penal Code comes up for revision, by rendering li-

able to punishment the Editors, & c., of papers who disseminate incendiary statements which they "do not in good faith believe to be true". This would, in my opinion, be a reasonable alteration of the law, and one to which, on the merits, serious objection could scarcely be taken, but I would prefer not to meddle with the Press Law at all at the present moment, and I doubt whether the amendment is one which would produce very valuable results. It would leave the power of the Press almost untouched.

13. There is, in my opinion, a great deal to be said in favour of the amendment proposed by the North-Western Provinces Government in Section 15 of the Criminal Procedure Code (appointment of village headmen, & c.) The principle of the amendment seems unquestionably sound; its precise form will require careful consideration.

14. The amendments in the Police Act V of 1861 are also, I think, desirable. The Bengal Government, in paragraph 10 of its letter of the 28th October, proposes a further amendment with the object of imposing additional responsibility upon the landlords in regard to the reporting of illegal assemblies and riots. This seems to me quite right, but I am not prepared to go so far as Sir Antony MacDonnell when he recommends that the onus of proof that the landlord had information of the intention to commit a riot, or a breach of the peace, should no longer rest with the prosecution, but that the burden of proving want of information should rest on the landlord or his representative. This goes, I think, too far. Upon the other hand, it seems to me that, as a matter of principle, we should be right in increasing the responsibility of the zamindars, and that, by doing so, we should be merely attaching to the ownership of land an obligation which formerly

belonged to it, of which the owners should not have been allowed to divest themselves, and of which the re-imposition will be in accordance with public opinion in this country.

15. The amendment in the Cattle Trespass Act 1871, appears to be of doubtful expediency.

16. There remains the question of the time and manner in which any amendment of the law upon which we may decide should be enacted. As to this, I am inclined to think that, in view of the desirability of avoiding irritating controversies, or the stimulation of public excitement at the present time, legislation upon the above points should not be resorted to at once. I would endeavour to deal with most of them, as opportunity arises, by way of amendments to the Penal and Civil Procedure codes, and I would make as little fuss about them as possible. It will, I understand, be necessary to amend Act V of 1861 at an early date in other particulars. Advantage might be taken of the opportunity in order to introduce the amendments discussed above. If it should be the opinion of the Government of India that stronger measures may become necessary, I would advise that a Bill should be drawn, and its details settled in Council, and then it should be passed, as an ordinance, should the necessity hereafter arise owing to a recrudescence of the agitation. For the present, that agitation seems to be quiescent, and it is I think, by no means impossible that those who have been involved in it, and who have, in many cases, suffered for their conduct, have seen the folly of their ways. If there is no renewal of these troubles, I would certainly avoid any action likely to revive the popular excitement which they have occasioned.

17. The only other suggestion which I will make is that the

Bengal Circular of November the 8th should be communicated to the other Local Government with any observation which the Home department likes to add. It has, I believe, already been seen by the Government of the North-Western Provinces.

18. It remains for me to notice the important proposals contained in the Bengal Government letter of the 23rd December. I have the utmost sympathy with Sir Charles Elliott's opinion that our duty is not merely to provide for the punishment of those who break the law, but to do all in our power to prevent acts likely to lead to such outbreaks by irritating and offending Hindu prejudices. I have always felt that it was not altogether easy for an Englishman to look upon these disputes with prefect impartiality, and even if we are successful in divesting our minds of prejudice, it is almost impossible that the Hindus should not regard us as being biased against them. If, therefore, anything could be done in the direction suggested by Sir C. Elliott, it will be most desirable both as a matter of strict justice and as one of expediency, that whatever repressive measures we may find it necessary to adopt should be accompanied by measures of a different kind framed with the objects which Sir Charles Elliott has in view, and so framed as to make it evident to the Hindus that we are determined to obtain fair play for them.

19. I am afraid, however, that we shall not find it possible to adopt the most important of Sir Charles Elliott's recommendations, which have been examined with much skill in Mr. Lyall's Note of the 25th December.

20. The proposal (a) that cattle intended for slaughter should "as far as possible", not be driven through frequented streets

or along main roads, would, as Mr. Lyall has shown, have been an extremely difficult one to enforce. I should imagine that there are many parts of the country, e.g., where it is low-lying and wet, in which the only road available would be the main road. Be this however as it may, I do not see how regulation could be framed on the lines of (a) without giving the Hindus a right of watching the roads, and compelling every passing driver to satisfy them that his cattle were not intended for slaughter. Well-meant proposals of this kind would, I am afraid, have the opposite effect to that with which they have been put forward; but we had better await the result of the enquiries which the Lieutenant-Governor has instituted, and we should certainly consider respectfully any specific proposals which he may ultimately submit. Point (a) in its present form is much too vague to be accepted even as a basis for legislation.

21. The Military Department has already taken up the question of the slaughter of Commissariat cattle. Instructions have lately been issued in the Advocate-General's Department enjoining special caution in the case of troops now under orders to move through the disturbed districts, and I have given directions that these instructions are to be communicated to the Bengal Government, and that the Military Authorities are to examine the specific recommendations made by Sir Charles Elliott in another letter[1] with reference to the Chapra case, which is still under enquiry. I should say that, as far as the cattle actually in charge of the Military are concerned, there ought to be no difficulty in preventing any offence being given.

22. As to (b) & (c), we ought, I think, to insist that all cattle slaughtered for food should be slaughtered in places specially set apart for the purpose, and in such a manner as to prevent

offence to passers-by. Nor can I see any objection to preventing the sale of beef except in licensed premises, but I do not see why legislation should be necessary in order to secure these objects which might be provided for by means of local regulations.

23. The recommendation made at (d) raises a question of the utmost difficulty. I was at first a good deal taken with the idea that it might be possible to extend the Punjab Rules to the rest of India, and it will be remembered that it was at my instance that the question of doing this was mentioned in our Circular of October 4th. I raised it because it seemed to me remarkable that while we had disturbances all over India in 1893, Delhi and Rohtak, where we had so much trouble in 1891, had been perfectly quiet. This seemed to me to be a strong testimonial in favour of the Punjab Rules. Everything, however, which I have since heard has rendered me more and more doubtful of the possibility of doing anything of the sort. As Mr. Lyall has shown, the case of the Punjab is entirely different from that of other Provinces in which Hindus and Mahomedans have lived together for over a century under British protection. An extension of the Punjab Rules to other parts of India would certainly be regarded as an enormous concession to the Hindus and a serious affront to the Mussulmans. Sir Charles Elliott evidently feels this (see paragraph 6 of his letter). My own idea is that any attempt to register and stereotype customary rights would not only be impossible in practice, but would probably lead to a revival of the excitement which is fortunately dying away, and would place both parties to the dispute once more upon that alert. The Lieutenant Governor proposes two criteria: The person who wishes to slaughter at the Bakar Id must have exercised the custom in previous years, and must own premises within

which the sacrifice can be conducted with suitable privacy. Mr. Lyall has shown what would be likely to happen if a preliminary inspection of premises were required whenever a Mussulman wished to slaughter a bullock in celebration of some domestic festivity. It would be much better merely to enact (and that is what I think Mr. Lyall proposes) that any person slaughtering kine on premises which are not properly secluded is to be liable to punishment. Some improvement of the law in this direction may be possible, but the attempt to determine where a customary right exists, and where it does not, would, I am convinced, break down. Mr. Evans' letter to Sir Charles Crosthwaite, sent on to me as an enclosure to Sir Charles' private letter of October 26th, and quoted by Mr. Lyall, is worth reading on this point. It would, I feel sure, in many cases be quite impossible to decide whether the customary right existed or not, and what the custom really was, if it existed. The fact is that the custom varies indefinitely according to the locality. There are, I believe, many in which the sacrifice of kine has never been objected to, and where it might almost be said that the right of free sacrifice had been recognised from time immemorial. Would it be politic in such districts to call upon every Mussulman, who wished to retain the right, to register his premises? Would not the invitation to register be a signal to his neighbours to challenge his right to sacrifice, and would it be possible to decide without giving mortal offence to one side or the other? Here, again, we should, I am afraid, in our attempt to make things better, really make them much worse than before.

24. There remains the question of the Brahmini bulls. I doubt whether there is very much in this grievance, but the state of the law is not satisfactory, and it might with advantage be amended so as to vest the property of these bulls in some local authority.

25. It would, I think, assist us very much in arriving at a conclusion if a Tabular Statement were to be prepared in the Home Department, enumerating the proposals which have been made by each Local Government (the order of Mr. Thornton's Note might be followed), and stating in parallel columns how each proposal has been received by the other Governments.

26. I have adopted the somewhat unusual course of placing this note upon the file before my Hon'ble Colleagues have noted, but I read most of the papers while I was on tour, and the near approach of my departure renders the circumstances exceptional. The conclusions at which I have arrived may form a useful basis for discussion.

L. -28-12-[19] 93

Speeches of Mahatma Gandhi on the Cow (Extracts) 1917-1920

Speech at Bettiah[1]

[About October 9, 1917][2]

I am thankful to the Gaurakshini Sabha and to you all for inviting me to lay the foundation-stone of the gaushala in this town. For the Hindus, this is sacred work. Protection of the cow is a primary duty for every Indian. It has been my experience, however, that the way we set about this important work leaves much to be desired.....

It should be borne in mind, besides, that there are slaughter-houses in all the big cities of India. Thousands of cows and bullocks are slaughtered in these. It is mostly from them that beef is supplied to the British. Hindu society keeps silent about this slaughter, thinking that it is helpless in the matter. As long as we do not get this terrible slaughter stopped, I

---

1 The meeting was held under the auspices of the Gaurakshini Sabha at Bettiah, a small town in the Champaran district of Bihar, about 95 miles from Motihari.

2 The date is inferred from the reference, in the speech, to the communal riots in Shahabad, Bihar, which occurred between September 28 and October 9.

Extracted from Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi Vol 14 pp2-4

think it is impossible that we can produce any effect on the hearts of Muslims or protect the cows against them. Our second task, therefore, is to carry on agitation among our British friends. We are in no position to use brute strength against them. They also should be won over by *tapascharya*[3] and gentleness. For them eating of beef is no religious act. It should be easier to that extent to persuade them. It is only after we have rid ourselves of the taint of violence which I mentioned earlier and have succeeded in persuading our British friends not to eat beef and kill cows and bullocks, it is only then that we shall be entitled to say something to our Muslim friends. I can assure you that, when we have won over the British, our Muslim brethren will also have more sympathy for us and perform their religious rites with some other kind of offering.

---

3 Originally, constant meditation, such as by ancient sages, on the Supreme in search of enlightenment; here, persistent and painstaking endeavour.

Speech at Muzaffarpur[1]

November 11, 1917

The differences between Hindus and Muslims are over the cow. If we want cows to be protected, the thing to do is to save them from slaughter-houses. Not less than 30,000 cows and calves are killed for the British every day. While we have not succeeded in stopping this laughter, we have no right to raise our hand against Muslims.

---

1 Extracted from Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi Vol 14 page 80

Speech at Bettiah Gaushala[1]

December 8, 1920

Whereas Muslims slaughter cows only occasionally for beef, the English cannot do without it for a single day. But we submit to them as slaves. We like the schools and courts of a Government which does not honour our religion. It is not as if I noticed this thing today for the first time. But previously I used to tolerate their eating beef, for I cherished the hope that they would do us some good. Now the hope is gone and hence I have declared non-cooperation against them.

1The Bettiah goshala was founded by Gandhiji in 1917 during his stay in Bihar in connection with the Champaran satyagraha. Extracted from Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi (CWMG) Vol 14 pp 91-92

Epilogue

Around 1966, I happened to come across some British official correspondence, dating from 1810-1811, relating to an agitation against a tax on houses imposed by the British in the city of Varanasi, and several cities and towns in Bihar. These papers were in the India Office Library, London. The agitation lasted about a month until the authorities intervened so drastically that this civil disobedience was eventually quelled. Even then the people who were later asked to pay the tax did not pay it willingly, and those who were instructed to collect the tax had to confiscate some of the tax-payers' possessions in lieu of the house tax which was due in cash. During this agitation all activity in Varanasi came to a stand-still. Even the cremation of dead bodies on the ghats of the Ganga was stopped and the bodies were just put in the river. All shops and businesses were closed, and it was estimated that some 2,50,000 persons sat in dharna for two to three weeks. People from the rural areas around Varanasi joined the agitation, and many others like iron-workers, boats-men, etc. stopped their work and joined the agitation as well as the dharna.

If one were to read the account of this Varanasi agitation*

* This account and the documents pertaining to it were first published in 1971 under the title *Civil Disobedience in Indian*

alongside, the present narrative on the anti-kine-killing agitation one would find many striking similarities. In both cases (and likewise in other agitations of the peasantry against exorbitant revenue demand and extortion by the British on agricultural land in various parts of India. For instance in the Rangpur region in Bengal in the late eighteenth century, or in the Canara region in Karnataka in the early nineteenth century), the agitating people set up efficient means of communication, for sending messages about the events and asking people near and far on the steps to be taken to organise people and resources to offer resistance and confront the government in differing ways, in order to pressurise it to give in to their demands. In Varanasi, this took the form of halting all activity, and sitting in dharna, while in the much longer countrywide anti-kine-killing agitation, this happened through the formation of tens of thousands of groups and societies to protect the cow and to prohibit cow-slaughter. In the latter movement massive signature campaigns, and gigantic petitions against cow killing were made to the British authorities. A number of Indians went to London to plead the case of the cow. A large number of persons, many of them sanyasis from all over India, moved around the country, addressing large gatherings to raise social and cultural consciousness and mobilise people on a vast scale, all of which needed courage and strength.

Both these events, the Varanasi civil disobedience (1810-11), and the anti-kine-killing agitation stretching across more than half of India (1880-1894, and still continuing even a century later), and also the peasant agitations referred to above, took place much before the time of Mahatma Gandhi. And

---

Tradition by Sarva Seva Sangh Prakashan, Varanasi and reprinted in 2000 by Other India Press, Mapusa, Goa.

yet there are great similarities in the way they arose and assumed organised shape. It is said that in the movements initiated and led by Mahatma Gandhi, it was the inspiration and direction of a leader, which kept the movements going. But in the case of Varanasi, or the anti-kine-killing agitation, or the movements of peasant resistance, while there existed shared ideas and goals amongst small or large communities, there does not appear to have been any specific leader nor any prominent group. Perhaps, by the time Mahatma Gandhi came forward, first in South Africa, and then from 1917 onwards, starting from Champaran, in India to guide and advise the Indian people on the ways to combat injustice, the spirit and convictions of the people of India had become much weaker and their courage and daring had greatly diminished. Such times therefore seem to have required a charismatic leader who could once again arouse these qualities, enabling the people to express themselves with full force.

Given this traditional political assertiveness among Indians, as well as their commitment to righteousness and fair-play, and their possessing a variety of organisational skills, it seems paradoxical that the people of India were not able to overthrow their adversary in an effective and decisive manner. It seems that there was an insurmountable mismatch between the ways and political understanding of the Indian people and their leaders, and those of the intruders from Europe, and currently also those from the USA. Indians have always aspired to live in localities and communities in relative harmony, not only with human beings but also with all beings. Western man, on the other hand, is a disrupter and conqueror by his very nature. Nevertheless, there are also amongst Western people, the hewers of wood and fetchers of water, who have for centuries been long accustomed to obey in mechanical ways and are no conquerors. But nothing makes

the former content until he has deliberately or otherwise disrupted functioning communities and societies and either exterminated them or subordinated them to his will. In a way, it was Plato, perhaps amongst others in the West, who realised that the constant state of war between nations represented the European reality and that the aspiration of the European man was to be the supreme conqueror.

Most civilisations and societies in the world however are not modeled on the West, nor are they destined to follow the Western way. Further, western culture, despite its ingenuity, inventiveness and warlike nature, is largely ugly and uncouth, brutal and bloody. All its achievements ultimately become lethal not only for others but even for itself. The day this realisation dawns on all men, especially the Western man, it could mark a turning point towards achieving a proper balance between man and man, man and other beings, man and nature, and between one civilisation and another. Mahatma Gandhi, at an early stage in Africa, saw this problem, and tried to move towards a satisfactory solution of it. But the world, as it had become by the time of his last days, was in no condition to follow the solution and vision he had. The main task for those in power was to bury him so deep that there would be, for the unbelieving world, not much chance of a resurrection.

◆◆◆

The daily slaughter of the cow and its progeny by the British continued in India for over 150 years. During these years the slaughter must have increased by leaps and bounds and, as mentioned earlier, according to Mahatma Gandhi some 30,000 cows were slaughtered daily around 1917. The daily number of the slaughtered might have stayed around this number when the British and American military forces be-

gan to depart from India, after the end of the 1939-1945 world-wide war around the end of 1945. This was the moment when India could have started closing the slaughter houses and put an end to this terrible enterprise within a few months, or a year.

Such immense daily slaughter had endless ramifications. Probably every district of India had one or more slaughter house for the cow by about 1840. According to a 1893 report of the Madras Presidency there was a beef slaughter house in each district in the Presidency. Slaughter not only produced various kinds of beef, but also many byproducts including cow hides. It is worth taking note that in 1946 a sub-committee of the National Planning Committee of the National Congress – the Congress which since the 1890s had been strongly against cow slaughter – considered the export of cow-hides of great value and therefore was against the closing of slaughter houses. By this time there must also have been numerous other interests including those who did the actual slaughtering, those who managed the slaughter houses, those who owned them, and those who carried on the trade in the various products of slaughter. Perhaps, in 1946, it was one of the largest and most widespread single industrial enterprise in India. It is therefore not surprising that there were powerful lobbies for the continuation of the slaughter houses, even after the departure of the British military forces and the majority of the British civilians, then, as there are even more powerful lobbies of meat export and for the expansion of meat production today. This is indicated by the report of the 'Sub-group XI: Meat Sector' which has been concerned with the preparation of these aspects of the Tenth Indian Five Year Plan, for 2002-2007.

The reports and recommendations of the above sub-group, and the working group examining it, are, to say the least,

texts which seem to relish the killing of vast number of animals. Though written today they are basically on the same lines as the Report of the Indian Agricultural Commission, of the mid 1970s, which recommended the breeding of millions of buffaloes not just for milk but basically for slaughter for their flesh. It seems that from the 1950s all our Five-Year Plans have followed the same line and their heads, the Prime Minister of India as Chairman, and someone of the rank of a senior minister as Deputy Chairman have been approving this line of a speedy rate of increase in planned animal slaughter. That the Tenth Plan could think of employing the 'Sub-group: Meat Sector' to suggest much larger killing of all kinds of animals and the setting up of some additional 50,000 slaughter houses seems to imply that such phenomenal increase in animal slaughter has the specific approval of the current Deputy Chairman of the Commission, as well as perhaps the tacit approval of the Chairman, the Prime Minister of India.

One nonetheless hopes that there is no such approval and these ideas of the sub-group will be rejected by the Planning Commission. But if they do have such approval it is a tragic thing to occur in a country, which claims to be relatively more committed to non-killing than any other country. If all the people of India, and not only those who propagate and work for a ban on cow slaughter, could assert themselves and through various means end the disorientation and false notions of these men of power and bring them back to sanity, India would have won a major political and social battle.

◆◆◆

However, it is not merely the above mentioned interests which are responsible for the large expansion in the slaughter of animals of all kinds, including buffaloes, and also cows

and their progeny. During the 150 years or more of British rule Indian society was split apart. As time passed, especially after the induced destruction and decay of indigenous Indian education, and its takeover by the British Indian state the new education authorities began to determine the curricula as well as the texts which were to be taught. The matter of the content of Indian text-books even interested as high a dignitary as the British Prime Minister, Palmerston, during 1857-58. His advice to the Indian government was that all the Indian mumbo-jumbo must be discarded immediately.

Soon increasingly substantial numbers of Indians began to imbibe the new alien values and consequently began to abandon their own values, manners and customs and started treating them as inferior if not worthless. The feeling for the cow, as a symbol of auspiciousness and sanctity, also gradually became a casualty of this induced alienation through the new education. An increasing number of Indians began to be indifferent to the Indian cow, and if they ever thought of a cow, from about AD 1900 onwards, it was only in terms of the milk it produced, in which the European breed, considered to be more productive in terms of milk output, had begun to score over the Indian cow. By the late 1920s, when the report of the Royal Commission on Indian Agriculture was made, the Indian cow began to be largely ignored amongst the western educated and the urban elite.

Ordinary Indians, however, did not speak against the Indian cow but for them the question of protecting and saving it was no longer within their power. In fact 95 per cent of the Indian people still had a feeling for the cow till 1947, and after. A household was considered blessed if it had one or more cows. Around 1947, 50 per cent of all households in India usually had a pair of bullocks, or the use of a pair, to plough the land they had.

The general impact of the decay of Indian education was that practically in all spheres of Indian knowledge there began to be major lapses of memory, blunting of know-how and technical expertise, and of the fading of memory about the way things were done in the past. In their place through the new texts, bits of information from the western past began to be incorporated. This replacement of the Indian by the western, by fairly fast stages, began to be the new truth. Thus Indian society and manners began to be clothed in some pre-1800 western clothing or formulation, and Indians began to be coerced into accepting the new western image of themselves. Thus Indian agriculture, Indian technologies of various kinds, or Indian medicine which had been highly effective and sophisticated till around 1800 began to be treated as poor, inferior and defective by about 1850.

The innumerable confusions and errors, which arose from the decay of the indigenous and the lapses in Indian memory, for instance, may be represented today in our lack of trustworthy information even about the practices followed by our people, after a cow, bullock, bull, or calf died. The present day assumption is that most of them were skinned for cow hides. There are persons, however, who state that in their home area, in this case Gola Gokarannath, in Uttar Pradesh, the normal practice is to bury a dead cow. A social worker and teacher from that area has himself seen eight or ten such burials. Recently, in May 2002, when a bull died in a village near Madurai, Tamilnadu, 12 men in the village shaved their heads as a mark of respect and mourning for the bull. Later the bull was buried at the back of the temple, and a samadhi was to be constructed in the bull's honour. In Rajasthan, some time ago, a rural woman organised a public chanting for her sick cow, of an appropriate *pathh* (पाठ) to get her well. But when the cow did not get well and died soon after, the woman

had all the death ceremonies performed, as would have been done for a human being, and then got her buried. There must perhaps be hundreds of thousands of such burials in different parts of India even today. If the cow symbolises auspiciousness and sanctity it implies that even when she, or her progeny die, they still retain the same sanctity as a man or woman do when dead. And therefore their bodies cannot be ill treated.

In such a situation it seems unlikely that before the beginning of cow slaughter on a large scale in India, any dead cow would have been skinned. Ordinarily, a dead cow would only be skinned if its flesh etc. could be put to any use. Normally, the flesh of a dead cow would not be eaten even by those who skin it. The skin itself perhaps had no great attraction for those professionals who skinned the dead cow, as they would have had for the skin of an animal whom they had killed for food. However, the poverty in most of rural India during the nineteenth century and till about 1940 was of such vast dimension and depth that substantial number of households from amongst the Charmakars, Mahars, Malas, etc. had to take recourse to eating the flesh of dead cows before skinning them, and if some of the flesh was saved, to dry and keep it for a future meal. But such tragic events happen all over the world, in similar situations. In the India ruled by the British they just happened on a vaster scale and for an unusually long period.

Moreover the constant slaughtering of the cow and then finally its skinning from about AD 1800, would have made many people imitate and to begin to get their dead cows skinned. What actually used to happen some 300-400 years ago, or say around AD 1000, in most parts of India, needs to be looked into on the basis of whatever evidence is available.

◆◆◆

The cow is auspicious and sacred to Indians from ancient

times. But as mentioned earlier, this Indian view of the cow got considerably disoriented, especially amongst the western educated – some 2-3 per cent to 10-15 per cent people today who form the infrastructure of the Indian state and the system which administers it. But the rest of India, i.e. 80-90 per cent, still retains its Indian moorings, it still considers the cow auspicious and a great companion even though many of them have been reduced to such impoverishment that they cannot afford a cow any more. But most Indians still retain a certain intimacy with the cow and its progeny.

This was reflected in the discussions on the total banning of cow slaughter through the new Indian constitution which was being discussed during 1948-49. Practically all members of the constituent assembly including prominent Musalman members, were for such banning. But as the alienated educated elite who dominated and managed the drafting of the constitution had a western vision of the future India matters got so arranged that the decision of banning cow slaughter was left to the constituent states of the republic instead of being an integral part of the Indian Constitution.

The departure of the British was the moment when the people of India could have asserted themselves to put an immediate ban on cow slaughter. Such assertion, of course, should have also been made on numerous other matters. But after the British decided to depart around June 1946 – as they did not have sufficient British military forces to keep India in constant awe through overwhelming military presence, and could see no other alternative to continue ruling India either – they so organised matters that after their departure India was to be in no position to function in the way it might have wished, ie, if it had the time to think and improvise and move at its own pace. By the beginning of 1947, but publicly disclosed only about two months before the day of independence,

the British had decided to rush matters, announce their departure from India after about two months, and leave no time to the Indians to exercise their own initiative. Instead the Indians had to play to a pre-arranged British tune. India was just left wounded, wholly unsteady, licking its wounds, made to forget its earlier vision of Swaraj, and yet feel grateful to the British for their allowing India to be free within the frame of the political and administrative structure which the British had established for India. From that moment onwards the ordinary people of India began to lose their courage and confidence and have been forced into a continual retreat during the last half-century.

It seems that reconstituting India will alone bring back the opportunity for renewal which was lost in 1947. Such reconstitution according to Indian values and *svabhava* would enable India to be on the move again and help it throw away the alien values which it has allowed to be burdened with, which are blocking its movement in every sphere. What was disrupted over the past 200-300 years (through endless daily slaughter, through reducing the peasant to such extreme poverty that he was made unable to maintain a plough, a pair of bullocks, and even unable to keep a cow) can, if great thought and effort are applied to break such blocks, be regenerated, by allowing the Indian cow to prosper again and spread auspiciousness.

The events described in this work may be said to represent one of the major events in India during the nineteenth century, perhaps even more significant for the Indian people than the events of 1857-1858 which also tried to bring them together for a great cause. Though many more persons – perhaps a million or more – were killed and butchered, during 1857-58, mostly by the British, the number who actually died in the anti-kine-killing movement over the fourteen years

would not have been more than some 10,000. The psychological impact of the latter momentous events, however, must have been very deep and powerful. There was perhaps a sense of desolation when the anti-kine-killing movement began to fade after 1893, but its cinders are still there for anyone who cares to look. If Indian 'luck' would supersede, they could, at any time, get ignited again. The anti-kine-killing movement of the 1880s should have many lessons for today's India.

The banning of cow slaughter may therefore be a step towards restoring Indianness and bringing auspiciousness and sanctity back to Indian society. Such a restoration however would occur only when India consciously becomes aware of the fundamental contradictions between the alien thought and values with which it is burdened today and those which have been India's own from very early times and which are still basically familiar to India's people. This familiarity is of the same kind as of the people of Rangpur (c. 1780s), Canara (c. 1830s), Varanasi (1810-11), mentioned above, and of those who formed the movement against cow slaughter by the British, described in the present work, and who were using very similar approaches in their opposition to British oppression and arbitrariness.

If a really radical solution is required, the constitution of India would have to be completely reformulated by rural and semi-rural Indians, who are indeed the ancient inheritors of India and its *paramparas*. The new constitution would be based on their ideas of community, harmonious living with the neighborhood and with nature. In this set up, the minimum possible contact would be kept with the mentally disoriented western enclaves, and the west itself. It would, of course, be best for the "sick" to be brought back to sanity and helped to become, if they so wish it, equal members of the world of Mahatma Gandhi's vision. Indeed, there must be many ways

to get out of the present mess. Once we begin applying our mind to a basic reorganisation of Indian society, linked with India's *paramparas*, values and civilisational outlook, it is conceivable that many in the world will feel attracted by it and wish to be affiliated with a renewed Indian society.

Sevagram, July 2002

Index

(Of places and persons according to regions but mostly of the Punjab and Bihar which are better documented; also of groups and institutions concerned in some way or other with the anti-kine-killing movement. If the documentation were to be for the whole of India, the number of places, persons, groups and institutions would possibly be five times more. Amongst the institutions and groups the number of major Sanyasis including Dayananda Saraswati and Sriman Swami, from the South, was 16, the number of Maharajas, Maharanis and Rajas was 37, social and religious institutions against cow-killing were 24, Gaurakshini Sabhas 37, and newspapers, largely from the Punjab, were 79. These are those mentioned in the documents included in the book. The number of Indians supporting the movement in North India alone would have run into several crores. Amongst them as the documents indicate they were not only ordinary peasants, craftsmen, shopkeepers, but also various levels of Indian Government servants, zamindars, merchants and bankers.)

Places and Persons

Bengal

Bankura 372
Calcutta 93, 167, 230
Calcutta Town Hall 97
Dacca 98
Darjeeling 329
Kushtea, Nuddea District, Bengal 104
Nuddea 25, 108
Rangpur, Bengal 448, 458
Tripura 7, 8, 19

Bihar

Arrah 98, 350, 373, 375
Babu Govind Singh 397
Babu Rup Singh 394, 397, 402
Mohabir Pare 306
Pandit Hargun Panre 394, 397, 399, 402
Pandit Mahabir Pershad 394, 397, 399, 402, 403
Pandit Manishwar 397, 399
Pandit Sansar Nath Pathak 394, 397
Pandit Satya Narain 394
Pandit Sawsar Nath 402
Pandit Shukl Narayan 394, 397, 402
Aurangabad 294, 330, 331
Bhagwati Sahai 370
Dahu Bhagat, Ahir 304, 324
Gopi Bhagat Ahir 304, 324
Thakur Pershad, Pleader 370
Babu Ram Anugrah Narayan Singh, Deputy Magistrate, 318
Bankipore 100, 292, 308, 313, 317, 335, 350
Basantpur 59, 76, 79, 296, 314, 316, 416
Bashir Husain, Inspector of Police 286
Bettiah 52, 373, 411
Bhabua 60, 298
Bhagalpur 55, 313, 335
Ambica Datt Viyas 306, 347
Bhagwutti Churun 415
Bhojpur (near Dumraon) 298
Rai Jai Prakash Lal Bahadur, C.I.E., Dewan 298
Bishmia 296
Buxar, Sahahabad 371
Ali Mohammad 397
Champaran 59, 77, 299, 313, 315, 449
Ganga Narain Bhattacharjya 305
Rup Narain Pande 307
Chapra 53, 58, 59, 295, 313, 350, 368

Babu Basdeo Narain 394
Babu Bhagwati Pershad 394
Babu Bihari Singh 394
Babu Debi Prasad 297
Babu Mahabir Prasad 297
Babu Trijadhan Upadhaya 295
Benarsi Lal, Vakil 373
Hira Lal, Vakil 373
Kisore Lal 295
Maksudan Achari 306, 348
Rai Matadin Singh Bahadur, Sub-Judge 294
Seu Baksh Mal 297
Dalsingserai 55
Narhan, Zamindar 303, 346
Daltonganj, Palamau
Ishwar Narain 370
Darauli 296
Darbhanga 54, 105, 107, 301, 302, 313, 315, 371, 416
Achutanand 383
Amrit Lal Doma Ram 383
Arjun Das, 382
Atil Ram Kalwar 383
Babu Kali Pada Banerji, Headmaster 303, 345
Babu Lal 384
Babu Ramdhani Lal, Assistant Government Pleader 303
Babu Ram Chaudhari 383
Babu Talapati Singh, Private Secretary, Maharaja of Darbhanga 302, 345
Bhagwan Ram Kandhu 384
Balgovind Sahu 384
Balrup Sahu Dwarka Lal 383
Bans Lochan Sahu 383
Bhagwan Das Mugi Lal, 383
Bhajan Lal Lakshmi Narayan, 383
Bhawal Sahu, 383
Bhubanessar Misir 306, 348

Bhuja Lal 383
Bihari Lal, 383
Bihari Pathak 301, 341
Chaturgun Sahu 383
Darbari Pathak 302, 341
Dular Sahu Sham Lal, 383
Ganga Ram Ram Jas, 382
Gharsi Ram, 382
Gopi Ram 383
Gul Raj, 383
Gulab Chand 383
Jai Narayan, 383
Jawahir Lal Bim Raj, 382
Jamna Das Bihari Lal, 383
Jan Prasad 383
Jodhan Sahu 383
Kamalpat Ram 383
Kanhaya Lal Dungar Mal, 383
Kasim Ally, Sheristadar 352
Kedar Bakhsh Bhagwan Das, 383
Keshi Sahu Janki Sahu 383
Kesri Chund, 383
Khub Lal Chaudhuri 383
Lakham Ram 383
Lal Singh, Post Office Clerk 303, 345
Lalu Babu 303, 345
Mahabir Ram 383
Mahabir Sahu 384
Mahant Ram 383
Mewa Ram 383
Maulvi Maniralam, Mukhtear 347
Moti Chand Mahadeo Pershad 383
Muhamad Husain, Honorary Magistrate 352
Mungeri Lal Rameshwar Lal 383
Narain Ram 383
Phul Chund Sahu Bihari Lal 383

Raghu Nath Ray Ram Bilas 382
Raja Ram 383
Ram Lal Sahu Budhan Sahu 383
Ram Bilas, 382
Ram Pratap, 383
Ram Tahal Sahu Banu Ram 383
Ramhari Lal 346
Sakhawat Ali, Mukhtear 352
Sham Lal Chaudhari 383
Shiva Dan Chand 383
Shiva Govind Ram Mahabir Ram 383
Shiva Narayan 383
Shiva Ram Das Mansakh Rai 383
Srinivas Gal Raj 383
Suba Ram 383
Sumhar Sahu 383
Tapsi Ram 383
Thakur Dayal 383
Tilak Dhari Sahu Mannu Sahu 383
Walayet Husain, Physician 352
Deo, Aurangabad 331
Dinapore 59, 60, 62, 103, 105, 108, 301, 328, 418
Dumraon 397
Mohammed Ali, Raes 397
Tiktiq Ali Bakhsh 397
Fatuha 301, 314
Gaya 80, 98, 109, 110, 113, 293, 301, 308, 312, 313, 314, 330, 371, 374, 413
Amrit Lal Paul 337
Anant Ram Ghose 337
Babu Aghor Nath Pal 332, 337
Babu Baldeo Lal, Pleader 293, 319
Babu Balgobind Sen, Gayawal 332, 337
Babu Brij Mohan Pershad, Munsif 293, 319
Babu Chhote Lal Sejwar, Gayawal 332, 337
Babu Durga Shankar, Chairman, Sadr Local Board 331

INDEX

Babu Indra Narain Chakravarti, Government Pleader 293, 319, 332, 337
Babu Jadu Rai, Merchant 332
Babu Jai Singh, Broker 332
Babu Madho Lal Ahir, Gayawal 332
Babu Raj Kisore Narain Singh, Deputy Collector 293, 319
Baijnath Singh 337
Bal Gobind Lal 337
Balgobind Lal, Zamindar 332
Behari Lal Barik, Gayawal 337
Bhaojan Lal Marwari, Merchant 332
Bhikari Sankar Bhattacharji, Bengali zamindar 292, 318, 331, 337
Drigpall Lal 337
Durga Shanker Bhattacharjay 337
Gadadhur Shanker Bhattacharjya 337
Gope Nath Mate 337
Harihar Nath 337
Hem Narain Gir, Mahant of Bodh Gaya 332
Jageshwar Pershad 337
Jogendra Nath Sen 337
Kanya Lal 337
Kedar Nath, Pleader 332
Mahabali Bajpai, Brahmin 293, 320, 322
Mahabir Parshad Singh 337
Maina Pandit 320, 330
Maulvi Kamaruddin Ahmed 318, 337
Nagbant Sahai 337
Nand Lal 337
Pandit Addyanand Upadhya 332
Pandit Bagheswari Prasad 332
Pandit Baldeo Misser, Teacher 332
Rai Ram Narain Singh, Zamindar 332
Raj Kishore Narayin Singh 337
Rajajee Gyawal 337
Ram Gopal, Marwari 337

Ram Narayan Sen 337
Ram Narayan Singh 337
Ram Pershad 337
Sahib Ram Bania, Pleader 332
Sam Lal Vithal 337
Seetal Prasad 337
Sham Lal Bithal, Gayawal 332
Tulshi Pershad, Sarishtadar 370
Umesh Chandra Sircar 337
Ghutni, Darawli 295
Giridih, Hazaribagh district
Nilkant Tewari 370
Gobindganj 299
Hajipur 55
Hilsa 62, 301, 314
Jahanabad 331
Jugdishpur, Shahabad 374
Katihar, Purnea
Mahadeo Pershad 370
Khairia, Monghyr district 375
Kisanpali, Darawli 295
Koath 298, 312, 314, 316
Babu Rup Singh, Clerk 124
Kochus, Sasaram 298
Kurantadi 397
Babu Bisweswar Lal 397
Babu Harihar Pershad 397
Babu Krishna Lal 397
Pandit Durga Datt 397
Pandit Raghunath Pershad Upadhya 397
Lalganj 55
Mahanadi 295, 396, 58
Madhubani 55, 302
Ajodya Ram, Corn Dealer 363
Babu Durga Dut Singh, Zamindar 303, 344, 358
Babu Harakhdhari Singh, Zamindar 303, 344, 358

Bal Mukund Sahai, Head Master 359
Chuttur Bhuj Sahai, Pleader 359
Gurjoo Pershad (Banker) 359, 361
Harnath Pershad, Head Teacher 359
Jhari Lal, Mahajan 359
Kalidhan Choudhry, Mahajan 359
Khub Lal Sahai, Mahajan 359
Lal Bihari Lal, Mukhtear 303, 346, 358, 360
Mohabir Pershad, Teacher 303, 346, 351, 358, 360
Mukund Rai, Mahajan 359
Prasad Ram, Mahajan 359
Syam Chandra Narayan, Mukhtear 359
Tuli Ram Sahu, Mahajan 359
Maharajganj 59, 295, 296
Mairwa 295
Masaurdhi, Patna district 314
Mashaurdi 62
Maupara 43
Motihari 307, 371, 373, 416
Mullick, B.K., Sub-divisional Officer, Madhubani 301, 308, 340, 346, 350
Muzaffarpur 55, 307, 313, 315, 368, 371, 372, 373, 374, 411, 416, 445
Babu Debi Pershad, Zamindar 369
Babu Mutadin, Sub-Judge 373
Bagwati Churn, Pleader 369
Kusabar Tewari 370
Nilkant Tewari, Preacher 370
Raghunandan Misser 370
Ram Charan Pare 300, 305
Nandganj 43
Narainpur, Muzaffarpur district 368
Nasriganj 60
Pandit Ram Anugrah Tribedi 300, 306, 348, 365, 384
Pandit Ram Chand 277
Pandit Reva Shankar Gorji 394

Patar 295
Patna 105, 113, 128, 307, 312, 315, 373
Babu Jai Narain Bajpai 300
Chota Lal 306
Chote Lal 300
Jaj Raj Bahadur 300
Jowahir Mal 300
Mahant Iswar Singh 394
Mansuk Rai 300
Rai Radha Kissen 300
Phulwari 301
Pipli 194, 196
Purnea 371, 372
Nanak Pershad, Pleader 371
Raghunandan Misser 370
Rakhwari 342, 345
Ranisagar, Sasaram 298
Rosera 55
Biseswer Marwari 303, 346
Sahibganj
Thakur Prasad Kalwar, Baniah 294
Salimpur
Pandit Judu Shekhar 402
Saran 52, 58, 79, 313, 315, 371, 411
Baba Durga Prasad, late Government Pleader 305
Bal Govind Prasad, Zamindar 305
Baldeo Pare, Collector 306
Baldeo Singh 305
Deonarain Singh 305
Har Kisai Singh 305
Jagrup Singh 305
Janki Prasad 305
Non Singh Chaubi 304
Rameswar Singh 305
Rudhra Prasad, Pleader 294
Sarat Tiwari, Cowherd 306

Seo Govind Upadhaya 305
Subatpath Pandit 305
Tarpisir Misir 304
Udit Chaube, Preacher 295
Sasaram 60, 298, 330
Segowlie 299
Shahabad 60, 98, 104, 108, 297
Shiapura Sakra 296
Sitalpur, Saran district 372
Bhowani Rai 372
Sitamarhi 55
Amrit Lal Doma Ram 383
Arjun Das 382
Atil Ram Kalwar 383
Babu Durga Datt Singh 299
Babu Hakhdhari Singh 299
Babu Lal 384
Babu Ram Chaudhari 383
Balgovind Sahu 384
Balrup Sahu Dwarka Lal 383
Bans Lochan Sahu 383
Bhagwan Das Mugi Lal 383
Bhagwan Ram Kandhu 384
Bhajan Lal Lakshmi Narayan 383
Bhawal Sahu 383
Bhuja Lal 383
Bihari Lal 383
Chaturgun Sahu 383
Dular Sahu Sham Lal 383
Ganga Ram Ram Jas 382
Gharsi Ram 382
Gopi Ram 383
Gul Raj 383
Gulab Chand 383
Jai Narayan 383
Jamna Das Bihari Lal 383

Jan Prasad 383
Jawahir Lal Bim Raj 382
Jodhan Sahu 383
Kamalpat Ram 383
Kanhaya Lal Dungar Mal 383
Kedar Bakhsh Bhagwan Das 383
Keshi Sahu Janki Sahu 383
Kesri Chund 383
Khub Lal Chaudhuri 383
Kusabar Tewari 370
Lakham Ram 383
Mahabir Ram 383
Mahabir Sahu 384
Mahant Ram 383
Mewa Ram 383
Moti Chand Mahadeo Pershad 383
Mungeri Lal Rameshwar Lal 383
Narain Ram 383
Phul Chund Sahu Bihari Lal 383
Raghu Nath Ray Ram Bilas 382
Raja Ram 383
Ram Bilas 382
Ram Lal Sahu Budhan Sahu 383
Ram Pratap 383
Ram Tahal Sahu Banu Ram 383
Sham Lal Chaudhari 383
Shiva Dan Chand 383
Shiva Govind Ram Mahabir Ram 383
Shiva Narayan 383
Shiva Ram Das Mansakh Rai 383
Srinivas Gal Raj 383
Suba Ram 383
Sumhar Sahu 383
Tapsi Ram 383
Thakur Dayal 383
Tilak Dhari Sahu Mannu Sahu 383

Siwan 295
Sonepur 372
Sonthal Pargannas 49, 110
Tajpur 55
Titura 295

Bombay Presidency

Baroda 7, 114
Belgaum 50, 105, 106
Bombay 49, 93, 96, 102, 168, 174, 260
Bombay Presidency 49, 50, 52, 74, 113, 115, 119
Dhubri 100
Karachi 212
Kathiawad 7, 87
Kolhapur 7
Neemach 98, 105
Poona 48
Surat 8

Central Provinces (UP)

Berar 49, 100, 114
  Joshi, a Pleader of Akola 105
Bundelkhand 104
Dewas 104, 106
Gwalior 7, 105
Hoshangabad 100
Indore 7, 49, 103, 104, 111, 121
Jabbalpur 50, 106
Kamptee (near Nagpur) 51, 109, 110
Nagpur 324
Rewa 50, 106
Satna 50, 106
Ujjain
  Pandit Ojha 222

Madras Presidency

Arcot 5
Calicut 4
Canara 448, 458
Hyderabad 44
Karnataka 446
Madras 8, 102, 225
Madras Presidency 449
Madurai 454
Masulipatam 8
Mysore 7
Pondicherry 8
Ramnad 7
Travancore 7

Nepal

Katmandu 101
Nepal 101, 368

North-Western Provinces (NWP)

Agra 130, 164
Ajudhia 398
  Pandit Ram Prasad, Priest and Honorary Magistrate 398
Aligarh 37, 40, 98, 105, 106, 107, 220, 222, 223
  Badri Parshad, Pleader 105
  Syad Ahmad, K.C.S.I. 209, 223
Allahabad 37, 43, 52, 96, 98, 102, 103, 105, 112, 210, 211, 341, 375
  Chattra Nand, Brahmin 221
  Kishori Lal 304
  Madan Mohan Mallani 306, 347
Azamgarh 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 79, 112, 113, 114, 250, 251, 354

Sher Ali 306, 348
Ballia 41, 42, 43, 52, 58, 76, 79, 113, 114, 251, 354
Deokenandan Tiwari 305
Khuda Bakhsh 397
Mohammed Ali 397
Rup Narain Pande 305
Banarsi Das 27
Banarsi Das, Gusain 141
Bansgaon, Gorakhpur district 107
Barh 61
Basti 37, 98
Benares 37, 43, 51, 52, 93, 98, 109, 110, 124, 170, 211, 308, 324, 393, 411, 413. *See also* Varanasi
Babu Chunni Lal 394
Babu Jwala Singh 394
Babu Ram Das 394
Babu Sheo Parshad, C. S. I. 135
Babu Thakur Das 394
Banarsi Gir, fakir 127
Bhai Jwala Singh 399
Ganesh Das 306
Lachman Das, Vakil 141
Pandit Har Narain 397, 401
Pandit Joti Parshad 131
Pandit Kishori Lal 401
Raja Shiva Prasad 101, 209, 413
Bulandshahr 263
Cawnpore 98, 107, 110, 169, 191, 210. *See also* Kanpur
Dehradun 37, 98
Deoria, Gorakhpur district 373
Etawah 178, 373
Faizabad 43, 400
Debi Pershad, Head-clerk 370
Gopal Peshkar 370
Karim-ud-din 400
Maula Bakhsh 400

Farrukhnagar 263, 264
Fatehgarh
  Bav'a Sunder Singh 167
  Ichra Singh, Kahar 163
  Lala Mohan Lal 162, 164
Ganga Prasad Verma, Congress Leader 39
Garh Mukhtesar 234
Ghazipur 37, 40, 41, 42, 43, 97, 98
Gola Gokarannath, Uttar Pradesh 454
Gonda 372
Gorakhpur 41, 42, 43, 52, 113, 114
  Amar Path 304
  Mahabir Upadhya 295, 304
Hardwar 25, 28, 38, 52, 107, 110, 158, 159, 161, 210, 230
  Hemnath Pandit 304
Jaunpur 110
Jhansi 37, 98
Kaimganj, Farukhabad District
  Babu Chheda Lal 164
Kanpur 37. *See also* Cawnpore
  Chedi Lal, Brahmin 221
Lucknow 37, 39, 98, 194, 371
  Husein Bakhsh 400
  Mirza Abdullah, Vakil 170, 171
  Munshi Nawal Kishor, C.I.E. 209
Majhouli, Gorakhpur district 372
Mathura 224
  Maharaj Kamar, Brahmin 165
Mau 42, 43, 44, 46
Meerut 25, 126, 127, 234
  Ganga Ram 244
  Narain Das, Brahmin 235
Mhow 50, 104, 106, 111, 113, 114
Muzaffarnagar 234
Oudh 97, 107
Partabganj 55

Rampur
Lala Parmeshari Das, Diwan to the Nawab 200
Saharanpur
Shughan Chand, Kaith 134
Shahjahanpur 37, 98, 245
Sikandrapur, Ballia district
Ram Golam Pandit 304
Tilhar, Shahjahanpur district 37, 96
Varanasi 447, 449, 458. *See also* Benares

Punjab

Ahmadpur, Hafizabad Tehsil
Ishar Singh, Sub-Overseer 172
Alibrahman (Hathin Police Station)
Lekh Ram, Lambardar 221
Ambala 94, 95. *See also* Umballa
Amritsar 20, 21, 25, 28, 34, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 98, 106, 128, 132, 136, 139, 140, 154, 159, 164, 167, 168, 170, 205, 206, 210, 214, 221, 225, 243, 268
Gagar Mal, Honorary Magistrate 138
Ganga Ram 164
Kanshi Ram, Brahmin 139
Kharak Singh 169
Lala Mulraj, Sarishtadar 132
Mahant Bhagwan Singh 143
Muhamdu 142
Murli Dhar, Secretary, Arya Samaj 129, 270, 271, 274
Narain Singh 158
Nathu Mal, Khatri 244
Nawal Singh 159, 160
Pandit Dharm Chand 159
Pandit Lekh Raj 164
Rai Khushal Singh, Extra Assistant Commissioner 244
Sahib Dutta, Assistant Surgeon 132
Salig Ram, Vakil 171

Shib Dat, Brahmin 205
Wazira 142
Anandpur 236, 237
Maulvi Gauhar Ali 237
Andup (Hathin Police Station)
Pirthi, Lambardar 221
Anjuman Islamia 272
Baba Budh Singh 92
Baghapurana, Ferozpur
Lehna Singh 140
Bahadurgarh, Rohtak
Kewal Singh, Zaildar 203
Bahawalpore 25, 93, 154
Bahlolpur, Machiwara Police Station 225
Balak Singh (founder of Kuka sect) 91
Balim (Hathin Police Station)
Ram Dyal, Lambardar 221
Ballabgarh 275, 277
Kalli, Brahmin 286
Ram Pershad 222
Batala, Gurdaspur District
Bhai Harnam Singh 246
Bawa Narain Singh, Pleader 107, 129, 138, 143, 145, 146, 150, 157, 158, 159, 160, 163, 164, 207, 208, 209, 210, 212, 226, 228, 229, 268
Bedi Sahib Singh 92
Beri, Rohtak District 161
Ajudhia Parshad, Mahajan 259
Harbans Lal 259
Jot Ram, Mahajan 259
Mangat Rai, Mahajan 259
Mutsadi Lal, Mahajan 259
Bhai Ganesha Singh, Member Municipal Committee 129
Bhaini, Ludhiana district 91
Budh Singh 143
Ram Singh 91, 92

Bhiwani, Hissar District 226, 227, 240
  Ganeshi Lal, Teacher 240
Chak Ilaka, Shahpur District
  Hasan, Gondal 231
Chichawatni, Montgomery district 95
Chiniot, Jhang District 150
Delhi 25, 26, 28, 30, 32, 34, 90, 94, 95, 109, 112, 125, 126, 130, 132, 134, 141, 143, 149, 153, 154, 156, 157, 160, 164, 166, 174, 180, 194, 202, 230, 234, 239, 256, 276, 283
  Ambey Sahai, Baniah 281
  Asa Mali 240
  Babu Kidarnath, School Master 140
  Badr-ud-din Khan, Hakim 206
  Baldeo Sahai, English Clerk 137
  Behari Lal, Pleader 134
  Dip Chand, Marwari 249
  Diwan Kishan Lal 131
  Girdhari Lal, Pleader 134, 137, 142
  Gurdial, Marwari, Shopkeeper 281
  Haji Kutb-ud-din, Merchant 150
  Hardial Singh, Pansari 281
  Hazari Mal, Bhabra 237
  Karm Chand, Baniah 249
  Lala Devi Sahai, Manager, Qaisar-i-Hind Press 278
  Lala Ram Kishan Das, Honorary Magistrate 137
  Lala Sri Kishen Das, Gurwala 222
  Luchmi Narain, Marwari 258
  Madan Gopal, Pleader 128, 137, 147
  Maharaja Lal, Pleader 147
  Manak Chand, Topkhanawala 134
  Manu Lal, Cloth Merchant 249
  Maulvi Abdul Haq 169
  Maulvi Ahsan-ul-Haq 206
  Maulvi Mahmud-ul-Haq, Tahsildar 206
  Maulvi Muhammad Shah 155
  Maulvi Muhammad Yakub 155

Maulvi Nazir Husen 169
Mirza Ikbal Shah 206
Mirza Suleiman Shah 151
Moti Ram, Marwari 249
Muhammad Ibrahim 131
Nasir-ud-din, Kashmiri Maulvi 128
Pana Lal, Marwari 258
Piari Lal, Mungawala 134
Puran Chand, Marwari banker 134
Rawal, Babu of the Dariba Chatrabhoj, Topkhanawala 137
Shankar Dass, Marwari Shopkeeper 281
Shughan Chand 131, 135, 142, 144, 149
Syad Nasir 206
Wali Muhammad & Co. 131
Dera Ghazi Khan 194
Dera Nanak 242
Dharmkot Randhawa, Dera Nanak 242
Dharmsala 170
Dinga, Gujrat District
Abdul Ghani, Thanedar 235
Diwan Tirath Ram 235
Gopal Singh 235
Gunda Singh 235
Muhammad Khan, Zaildar 235
Dograi, Montgomery District 146
Durga, Amritsar 145
Fatehpur 32, 223
Ferozpur 20, 25, 29, 30, 90, 92, 96, 126, 129, 160, 171, 172, 174, 175
Abdul Rahim 246
Khan Bahadur Muhammad Hyat Khan 176
Maulvi Hashim Shah 176
Gil, Sialkot
Subas Jamait Singh 143
Gujranwala 26, 29, 125, 127, 140, 172, 173, 259
Gujrat 93

Gurdaspur 25, 93, 95, 96, 106, 140, 160, 167, 173, 195
Gurgaon 25, 126, 127, 220, 222, 260, 262, 283
  Rao Judishtar Singh, Honorary Magistrate, 126
Guru Gobind Singh 91
Guru Ram Das 208
Hafizabad 140
  Pindi Das 234
Hakim Abdul Majid Khan 223
Harappa, Montgomery District 131
Haryana 151, 227
Hazro, Rawalpindi district 91
  Balak Singh 91
Hissar 26, 31, 94, 127, 137, 154, 201
Hoshiarpur
    90, 93, 110, 128, 136, 148, 149, 151, 174, 178, 180, 182, 194, 197
Hujra 140
Isa Khel, Bannu district 150
Jagadhri, Amballa district
    90, 105, 106, 129, 135, 145, 194, 202, 214, 219, 221, 249, 270
  Bansi Lal 214
  Pandit Din Dial 155
  Ramji Das, Baniah 135
  Ramji Das, Khatri 127
  Said Muhammad, Naib-Tahsildar 135
  Shahzada Wala Gauhar, Tahsildar 135
Jalalabad, Amritsar
  Mehr Singh, Jat 192
Jammu 35, 125, 134, 141, 164, 251
Jandiala 159
Jandowal, Hoshiarpur
  Lal Missar 170
  Natha Singh 170
  Sudh Singh 170
Jhajjar 28, 95, 168
  Pandit Din Dyal 226
Jhang 134

Jhawrian, Shahpur District 232
Jhelum 228
Jind 111, 239, 240, 243
Lalu, Rajput 245
Jullundur 25, 31, 93, 95, 147, 159, 160, 167, 197, 221
Babu Bishambar Das 139
Babu Bishan Das 139
Babu Mushtaq Rai 139
Bawa Sarmukh Singh, Secretary, Singh Sabha 139
Bawa Surmukh Singh 198
Jaimal, Brahmin 256
Jamiat Singh, Superintendent, Jullundur Settlement 139
Lala Sheo Dial, Cloth Merchant 139
Mian Jalmijh 221
Nanak Chand, Contractor 139
Ramji Lal 146
Singh Ram, Zaildar 256
Surmukh Singh, Kuka, Petition-writer 139
Kahuta, Ferozpur
Samand Singh 143
Kalanaur 195, 240, 242
Sohan Lal, Member, Municipal Committee 137
Kamah, Chandigarh 203
Kana Kacha, Lahore District 204
Kapurthala 31, 90, 94, 129, 155
Sande Khan 139
Karnal
32, 92, 94, 135, 141, 143, 147, 152, 155, 166, 202, 234, 239, 263
Ishak Lal, Baniah 135
Kishan Sahai, Gujarati Brahmin 135
Nawab Azmat Ali Khan 234
Ram Narain, Pleader 135
Sant Ram, Deputy Inspector of Police 135
Tilok Chand, Baniah 135
Kasauli 134, 204
Bhagat Ram 134

Mehr Chand 134
Moti Babu, Clerk 134
Nand Kishor 134
Pancham Singh, Clerk 134
Kashmir 7, 35, 36, 112, 164, 181
Diwan Lachman Das 157
Khairpur, Muzaffargarh District 93, 146, 211
Khanna, Ludhiana District 175
Bansi, Brahmin 175
Bawa Bhim Sain 175
Hira Lal, Muharrir 175
Kalu, Kalal 175
Parbu, Baniah 175
Parsa, Brahmin 175
Kharar, Umballa District 193
Kinjar, Muzaffargarh District 163
Kohar, Gujrat District 229
Kot Adu, Muzaffargarh District 222
Kotla 92
Kuldanna
Bahadur Singh, Contractor 144
Sardar Nihal Singh 144
Lachman Das, Member Municipal Committee 129
Lahore 25, 26, 31, 34, 90, 93, 96, 100, 110, 126, 127, 128, 129, 136, 152, 160, 163, 170, 196, 205, 221, 232, 256, 266
Bhai Amar Singh 163
Dilbagh Rai 174
Ganesh Das, Brahmin 139
Jaishi Ram, Extra Assistant Commissioner 172
Nawab Ghulam Mahbub Subhani 163
Nihal Singh, Clerk 125
Pandit Telu Ram 163, 165
Ramji Das Khatri 139
Sain Das 161
Sheikh Sande Khan 163
Thakur Das, Doctor 146

Dabbi Bazar 152
Chota Lal & Co. 129
Lala Mulraj, Sarishtadar of the Deputy Commissioner 129
Lala Ramcharan Das, banker and trader 39
Lalian, Jhang District 198
Laluwala, Patiala
Sarmukh Singh 143
Lanran, Ferozpur District
Sodhi Khazan Singh 174
Laroha, Jullundur
Sardar Basawa Singh 203
Ludhiana 25, 26, 28, 92, 93, 94, 122, 125, 147, 154, 156, 159, 160, 161, 163, 166, 170, 178, 180, 192, 197, 225, 253
Achhru, Baniah 255
Balmokand, Sahukar 253
Daulat Ram, Brahmin 255
Dhanpat Rai, Brahmin 125
Dina, Wasdeo 253
Duni Chand, Assistant Teacher 125
Ghulam Rasul 255
Kirpal, Daroga 253
Kishan Gopal, Mukhtar 255
Kishori Lal, Lala 253
Lala Ram Pershad, Beri 255
Mahtab Rai, Lala 253
Mansa Ram, Member of Municipal Committee 125
Naubat Rai, formerly Sarishtadar 125
Pohlo Mal, pensioned Naib-Tahsildar 125
Ramji Das, Treasurer 163
Sardar Gurdial Singh, Assistant Commissioner 158
Sawan Mal 253
Sheo Saran Das, Contractor 125
Shibhu Mal 253
Tehl Singh, pensioned Police Sergant 125
Umar Parshad, Clerk 125
Umra Singh 253

Machiwara, Ludhiana
Miru, Patwari 136
Nagina Mal, Baniah 136
Sain Das, Member Municipal Committee 136
Saudagar, Baniah 136
Maghiana 134
Majitha, Amritsar District 152
Makhu, Ferozpur District 204
Mataur, Chandigarh 203
Maulvi Mian Muhammad 148
Mian Abdul Hakim 142
Mian Ghulam Farid 148
Monan, Hazara District 143
Montgomery district 93, 140, 169
Multan 25, 89, 93, 126, 136, 142, 165, 212
Murree 158
Bani Babu, Post Office Clerk 144
Haim Raj, Accountant 144
Sukhdial, Clerk 144
Muthada, Jullundur
Wazir Singh 143
Muzaffargarh 153, 198
Nagal Jat (Hathin Police Station)
Salig, Lambardar 221
Najafgarh
Abdulla, Gawalla 285
Bagru, Bania 283
Bansi Dhar, Baniah 286
Fakira 285
Ganpat, Mahajan 284
Girdawr Kanungo 284
Hira Singh, Hospital Assistant 284
Kadra, Gawalla 285
Lachhman, Bohra 284
Mathra Das 285
Pandit Salig Ram, School Master 284

R. B. Rughnath Singh, Honorary Magistrate 284
Ram Sarup, Baniah 286
Ratti Ram, Mahajan 284
Santi Mal, Baniah 286
Shankar, Brahmin 285
Tipar Chand 284
Yadu, Ahir 285
Narot, Gurdaspur district 144, 243
Amir Chand, Merchant 145
Ganga, Merchant 145
Ganga Ram, Merchant 145
Nand Lal, Sahukar 145
Sandal, Rajput 145
Nowshera, Peshawar 241
Panipat 135, 148, 152, 153, 202
Hargolal, Baniah 288
Makhan Lal, Baniah 135
Shadial Singh, Baniah 288
Shib Dial, Banker 126
Tara Chand, Baniah 135
Tara Chand, Banker 126
Pathankot 219
Patiala 24, 111
Peshawar 25, 34, 93
Phagwara, Kapurthala 245
Pind Dadan Khan (in Jhelum district) 33, 227, 239, 241
Arora, Shopkeeper 229
Attar Singh, Shopkeeper 229
Fattah Pauli 241
Fazal Din, Assistant Surgeon 232
Gopal Singh 232
Imam Din, Petition-writer 236
Jan Muhammad 236
Jawala Sahai, Pleader 228, 232, 234
Jowala, Shopkeeper 229
Khazan Singh, Pleader 228

Lorind Chand 232, 234
Mauju, Mochi 235
Pira, Khoja, Member Municipal Committee 232, 233
Ram Asra, Pleader 228
Tulsi Das 232
Puthi Mangal Khan, Hissar District 232
Rahon 197
Raikot 92
Rajanpur, Dera Ghazi Khan District 191
Rawalpindi 26, 34, 126, 129, 134, 230
Inayatulla, Barrister 247, 248
Karm Singh, Brahmin 125
Lakku Mal 231
Mangal Sain, Accountant, Railways 124
Mitha Mal 231
Mohan Lal, Deputy Inspector of Police 136
Nabi Bakhsh, Khoja, Honorary Magistrate 230
Rewari, Gurgaon District 127, 199
Bala, Chaudhri 127
Bhan, alias Jhajjaria 127
Gopal Sahai 127
Kali, Broker 127
Lal Singh, Ahir, Honorary Magistrate 261
Mala, Halwai 127
Mohan, Broker 127
Nanga, Broker 127
Pirbhudiyal, Dhusar (Pleader) 261
Ram Chand 127
Ramgopal, Saraogi (Muncipal Commissioner) 261
Shankaria, Broker 127
Rohan
Muhammad Husen 148
Waja Muhammad, pensioned Deputy Inspector of Police 148
Rohtak
26, 31, 103, 127, 137, 167, 197, 199, 200, 202, 213, 238, 239, 263, 283

Rupar 195, 237
Saddi, Muhammadan poet of Oriya 277
Sadhaura, Umballa District 194
Sarai Saleh, Hazara District 131
Sardar Dial Singh 210
Serai Rohilla Khan, Delhi 255
Seronj district 104
Sialkot 26, 35, 126, 127
  Rai Narain Das, Extra Assistant Commissioner 165
Simla 127, 132, 157, 245
  Babu Parma Nand, Accountant Simla Treasury 261
  Basant Rai, Trader 133
  Diwan Gobind Sahai 133
  Ganga Ram, Baniah 127
  Harnam Singh, Overseer, PWD 132
  Jagat Singh, Clerk, PWD 136
  Lala Charan Das 133, 142
  Mirchi Mal 132, 133, 141, 142
  Mukha Singh 133
  Parmanand, Treasury Clerk 132
  Sardar Jagat Singh, C.I. E. 133
  Sheo Narain, Naib-Tahsildar 132
  Thakur Das, Hospital Assistant 132, 133, 136
  Than Singh 142
Sinanwan, Muzaffargarh District 155
Sind 104
Sirsa 26, 127
Sohana, Chandigarh 203
Sonepat 152, 256, 276
  Baldeo Sahai, Brahmin 283
  Bhambu, Dhanak, Pali 283
  Buddhu, Chamar, Pali 283
  Chiranji Lal, Bania, Veshnu 282
  Ganga Dial, Bania, Veshnu 282
  Hari Das Mukarji, Station Master 233
  Kabul Singh, Brahmin 282

Lakhi, Lambardar, Jat 282
Lala Bakhtawar Mal 233
Lala Banarsi Das 256
Lala Banarsi Das, Saraogi 282
Lala Dina Mal 233
Makhan Lal, Brahmin, Muharrir 283
Mithan Lal, Bania, Veshnu 282
Moti Mal, Bania, Veshnu 283
Mutsaddi Lal, Saraogi 282
Nanak Chand, Bania, Veshnu 282
Nand Kishor, Bania, Veshnu 282
Narinjan Das, Bania, Veshnu 282
Niadar Mal, Bania, Veshnu 282
Pandit Kidar Nath, Brahmin 282
Piyarey Lal, Bania, Veshnu 282
Ram Chand, Bania, Veshnu 283
Ramsaran Das, Bania, Veshnu 282
Ravi Dat, Brahmin 282
Sheo Nath, Lambardar, Jat 282
Thambu, Lambardar, Jat 283
Umrao Singh, Saraogi 282
Wazir Chand, Bania, Veshnu 282
Taran Taran 167, 204
Pohlo Mal 206
Sowaya Ram, Hospital Assistant 168
Thanesar 194, 196, 201, 270, 273
Maulvi Alik Ullah 201
Tilok Nath, Kangra
Basawa Singh, Granthi 173
Umballa 127, 131, 133, 141, 149, 153, 156, 157, 161, 165, 167, 178, 196, 225, 243, 274
Asa Ram, Banker 127
Bhai Amar Singh 165
Bishambar Das, Baniah 161, 162
Bishan Das, Khatri 161, 162
Dewa Singh, Kalal 161

Kaith Das, Baniah 161
Khushi Ram, Member Municipal Committee 127
Lehna Singh, Jat 161, 162
Murli Dhar, Pleader 127, 157, 164
Ram Lal, Kalal 161
Thakur Das, Baniah 161, 162
Zira, Ferozpur District
Abdul Rahim, Wahabi 232

Rajasthan

Ajmer 51, 88, 103, 107, 110
Alwar 126, 127
Bikaner 127
Jaipur 6, 126, 127
Jodhpur 6, 19, 127
Kotah 49
Mewar 24
Mount Abu 48
Rajputana 48, 101, 103, 104, 108, 109, 111, 127, 141
Tonk 211
Udaipur 6, 19

Institutions and Groups

Sanyasis

Gopalanand Swami 22, 40, 52, 60, 97, 104, 297, 304, 305, 315, 323
Hansas Swarup (Bihar) 52, 304, 305, 306, 314, 315, 323, 333, 348, 368, 369, 372, 373, 415
Khaki Baba 22
Kukas (Namdhari Sikh) 14, 20, 21, 28, 72, 91, 92, 95, 96, 103, 119, 122, 132, 140, 155, 167, 173, 194
Naga Sadhu 22
Powari Baba 52, 76, 304, 305, 316, 416

Ramayani Baba 400, 401
Sriman Swami
21, 22, 38, 48, 49, 52, 57, 61, 97, 101, 102, 109, 110, 112, 113, 191, 246, 292, 299, 304, 305, 313, 315, 318, 320, 323, 337, 413, 414
Swami Ala Ram 22, 27, 31, 39, 52, 94, 104, 105, 138, 145, 152, 153, 160, 161, 169, 171, 205, 206, 208, 210, 212, 221, 226, 231, 256, 306, 313, 315, 347, 348
Swami Atma Ram 146
Swami Bhaskaranand 22
Swami Brahmanand 22
Swami Dayananda Saraswati 14, 21, 22, 87, 89, 99, 124, 125, 127, 134
Swami Isharanand Saraswati 133
Swami Keshwa Nand 211
Swami Parkash Nand Saraswati 162
Swami Ralla Ram 266

Maharajas

Maharaja at Kamtowl 348
Maharaja Dalip Singh 95, 96, 103, 120, 122, 167, 173
Maharaja Lakshmishwar Singh Bahadur 375, 376
Maharaja of Ajudhiya 369
Maharaja of Benares 38, 79, 87, 97, 100, 101, 114, 124, 135, 353
Maharaja of Bettiah 38, 97, 114, 299, 310, 409
Maharaja of Bhurtpur 113
Maharaja of Burdwan 369
Maharaja of Darbhanga 38, 55, 79, 97, 99, 101, 114, 188, 299, 302, 341, 345, 347, 353
Maharaja of Deo 369
Maharaja of Dumraon 38, 79, 97, 353, 369
Maharaja of Faridkot 101
Maharaja of Gidhaur 369
Maharaja of Hatwa 38, 58, 97, 114, 295

Maharaja of Indore 50, 121
Maharaja of Jaipur 57, 83, 84, 101, 333, 334
Maharaja of Jammu 144
Maharaja of Jodhpur 6, 83, 85, 103, 109
Maharaja of Kashmir 92, 107, 135, 154
Maharaja of Mysore 57, 334
Maharaja of Patiala 25, 183, 237
Maharaja of Rajasthan 6
Maharaja Ranbir Singh 36
Maharaja Ranjit Singh 7
Maharani of Rewa 50, 106
Rani of Majhauli 59, 295, 305

Rajas

Raja Kalian Singh 161
Raja of Sheohar 369
Raja of Khaira 369
Raja of Khairagarh 110
Raja of Rajnugger 364
Raja of Sohawal 50, 106
Raja of Tikari 57, 292, 318
Raja Rameswar Singh 347
Raja Rampal Singh 39, 79, 101, 353
Rao Raja Jai Shankar 224
Thakur of Gondal 48, 98
Rewa Thakur 50, 106

Emperors and Nawabs

Emperor Akbar 185, 223, 251
Emperor Aurangzeb 251
Emperor Jahangir 5, 251
Emperor Shah Alam 28, 168
Nadjuf Cawn 83, 84
Nawab of Arcot 6

Nawab of Avadh 6
Nawab of Bahawalpur 148
Nawab of Bengal 6
Nawab of Hyderabad 6
Nawab of Loharu 131
Nawab Vazir 45
Nawab Rukn-ud-din (Delhi) 206
Nawab Sharf-ud-din Khan (Delhi) 206
Nizam of Hyderabad 174

Some prominent supporters of the movement

Dahu Bhagat, Ahir 304, 324
Gopi Bhagat Ahir 304, 324
Jagdeo Bahadur 52, 58, 295, 304, 305, 309, 316, 406
K.T. Telang (Maharashtra) 49, 102
Mirza Abdullah, Vakil 170, 171
Pandit Ajudhia Misir 304, 324
Pandit Badri Parshad 107
Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar, Congress Leader 39
Pandit Bisheshwar Jha 391
Pandit Dayanand Saraswati. *See* Swami Dayananda Saraswati
Pandit Dhani Ram 168
Pandit Dharm Sahai 257
Pandit Din Dyal 257, 277
Pandit Homnath 295
Pandit Jagat Narain 52, 54, 58, 243, 244, 245, 295, 302, 304, 306, 313, 315, 323, 333, 341, 347, 390, 391, 394, 397, 399, 400, 401, 406
Pandit Kishori Lal Goswami 390
Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya 39
Pandit Mahabir Pershad 394, 397, 399, 402, 403
Pandit Mathra Pershad Misar 195
Pandit Meva Lall Takoor 358
Pandit Parbhu Dial 127
Pandit Raghunath 165

Gaurakshini Sabhas
Allahabad 37, 48, 61, 66
Ambala 28
Apchalnaggar, Nandair 101
Beguserai 365
Bettiah 61, 299, 309, 443
Bhabua 297
Chapra 58, 297, 309, 310, 315, 390
Dalsingserai 55, 302, 341, 342, 344, 365
Darbhanga 54, 306, 315, 342, 348, 362
Gaya 56, 292, 294, 309, 322
Gopalpur, police-station Shergotty 294
Gorakhpur 65
Hajipur 61, 299, 302, 341, 344
Hardwar 38
Jamhor, Aurangabad 294
Kalka 27, 261
Lalganj 61, 299, 302, 341, 344
Ludhiana 253
Madhubani 55, 61, 66, 301, 302, 315, 340, 341, 344, 358, 378
Mhow 365
Motihari 303
Nagpur 47, 50, 55, 63, 66, 98, 108, 110, 112, 114, 116, 302, 343
Nasriganj 297
Obra, Aurangabad 294
Partapganj, Bhagalpur district 344, 365
Patna 61, 66, 300, 309
Raniganj, police station Shergotty 294
Rewa 50
Rosera 55, 302, 341, 344
Sakarbigha,Tikari 294
Saran 294
Sasaram 297, 315
Shahabad 297

Sitamarhi 61, 299, 300, 302, 315, 341, 344, 365
Sonepat 277
Tajpur 55, 302, 341, 342, 344, 346
War, Aurangabad 294

Newspapers

Aftab-i-Alamtab (Lahore) 191
Aftab-i-Hind (Jullundur) 198, 218
Aftab-i-Punjab (Lahore) 26, 29, 155, 172, 174, 176, 177, 194, 198, 218, 223, 235, 243
Akhbar-i-Alam (Kanpur) 191
Akhbar-i-Am (Lahore) 132, 156, 166, 171, 187, 193, 203, 223, 224, 246, 250, 253, 255
Akhbar-ul-Akhyar (Delhi) 187
Al Sadiq (Ferozpur) 171, 176, 188
Aligarh Gazette (Aligarh) 220
Amritsar Gazette (Amritsar) 194
Anis-i-Hind (Meerut) 241
Anjuman-i-Punjab (Lahore) 162
Arya Darpan (North-Western Provinces) 132
Arya Gazette (Ferozpur) 168, 219, 222
Arya Mitr (Punjab) 132, 133
Bangabasi (Calcutta) 349
Be-Misal Punch (Delhi) 249
Bharat Sudhar (Lahore) 231, 238
Bombay Samachar Gujrati, Bombay 254
Civil and Military Gazette (Lahore) 177, 184, 192
Dabdaba-i-Sikandari, (Rampur) 185
Daily Post (Bangalore) 99
Danish-i-Hind (Multan) 184
Dar-ul-Saltanat (Calcutta) 144, 166
Desh Upkarak (Punjab) 132
Dharm Jiwan (Lahore) 191
Dost (Delhi) 168, 169
Dost-i-Hind (Bhera) 218, 223, 224, 241, 246
Farsi Akhbar (Lahore) 26, 143, 145

Ganjina-i-Akhbarat (Lahore) 184
Gansewak 308
Gauraksha Akhbar (Punjab) 132, 136
Gham Khwar-i-Hind (Lahore) 219, 223, 250
Gosevak 67, 349
Gujrati Akhbar Aslam 254
Himala (Rawalpindi) 240, 241
Hindustan 308, 349
Hindustan Kalakankar 39
Imperial Paper (Lahore) 30, 175, 186
Kaisar-ul-Akhbar (Karnal) 213, 218, 219, 222
Kaisari (Jullundur) 158
Kapurthala Akhbar (Punjab) 132
Khair Khwah-i-Alam (Delhi) 233
Khair Khwah-i-Kashmir (Lahore) 154, 177, 186, 187, 188
Khalsa Gazette (Lahore) 160
Koh-i-Nur (Lahore) 27, 157, 161, 171, 172, 176, 199, 248
Lahore Punch (Lahore) 252
Mashir-i-Hind (Ludhiana) 170
Mitr Vilas (Punjab) 132
Mukhbar-i-Sadiq (Kasur) 223
Nanak Parkash (Kapurthala) 192, 245, 249
Nanak Parkash (Lahore) 184
Nasim-i-Sahar (Mirzapur) 203
Nur Afshan (Ludhiana) 251
Nusrat-ul-Akhbar (Delhi) 244
Paisa Akhbar (Lahore) 239, 243
Panjab Panch (Lahore) 29, 173, 200
Pate Khan (Lahore) 205
People's Journal (Lahore) 246
Pioneer 102, 246, 250
Rafiq-i-Hind (Lahore) 177, 184, 185, 186, 188, 191, 197
Ravi Akhbar (Lahore) 184
Reformer (Punjab) 132
Regenerator of Aryavarta (Punjab) 132
Rias-i-Hind (Amritsar) 198

Sada-i-Hind (Lahore) 252
Safir-i-Hind (Delhi) 168, 169
Sanatan Dharam Gazette (Sialkot) 232, 244
Singh Sahai (Amritsar) 214, 219, 228, 235, 250, 251, 253, 268
Siraj-ul Akhbar (Jhelum) 245
Sirmoor Gazette (Nahan) 219
Sultan-ul-Akhbar (Bangalore) 172
Taj-ul-Akhbar (Rawalpindi) 233, 235, 238, 239, 251
Tribune (Lahore) 205
Umballa Gazette (Umballa) 248
Urdu Guide (Calcutta) 219
Vakili-Bewagan-i-Hind (Delhi) 254
Victoria Paper (Sialkot) 185, 251
Wafadar (Lahore) 240, 254, 257
Wasir-ul-Mulk (Sialkot) 26, 157

Other Publications

Alwaiz 188
Fatwadar Taksib Farman Shah Alam Sani 169
Gaurakshini Sabha Dehra Dun ke niyam aur up niyam 167
Gau-Dharm-Sar 162
Gau-Mahatam 162
Gau Karunanidhi 23
Gau Pukar Pushrawali 277
Gauban Patrika 258

Printing Presses

Benares
Amar Press 391
Darbhanga
Raj Press 308, 349
Union Press 308, 349

Delhi
Rashak-i-Kanshi Press 258
Meerut
Vidya Darpan Press

Institutions

Anti-Jhatka Committee 232
Arya Samaj 22, 25, 26, 37, 50, 60, 72, 87, 88, 90, 93, 94, 95, 96, 98, 99, 101, 103, 104, 107, 108, 110, 115, 122, 124, 126, 129, 132, 133, 134, 137, 138, 147, 150, 152, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 163, 164, 167, 168, 171, 194, 204, 210, 260, 265, 266, 268, 270, 286
Golden Temple 27, 32, 91, 136, 138, 145, 206, 211, 221, 226, 243
Allahabad People's Association 36
Bharat Dharm Mahamandal 25, 38, 39, 107, 226, 277
Bombay Society 48, 99, 112, 114
Brahmo Samaj 124, 139
Calcutta Pinjrapol Society 105
Dharm Sabha 268
Giara Panch 49, 104
Gokrishyadirakshini Sabha 23
Goraksha Mandali, Bombay 49
Hindu Tract Society 108
Indian Association of Gaurakhsha Lecturers 393, 394, 396, 405
Indian National Congress 49, 51, 69, 99, 105, 109, 110, 112, 118, 122, 207, 208, 209, 212, 219, 226, 255, 451
Kayasth Sabha 110, 272
Khalsa Diwan 268
Khalsa Raj 72, 91, 103, 119
Khatri Sabha (Punjab) 110
Pandit Sabha, Amritsar 159
Prayag Hindu Sabha 39
Sanatan Dharmi Pracharani Sabha 58, 294
Singh Sabha 90, 95, 129, 131, 140, 162, 192, 210, 268, 272

Society for the Preservation of Cows and Buffaloes 48, 98, 99
Vegetarian Society 244

Other Institutions

Allahabad High Court 36, 37, 38, 97
British Indian Army 14, 19, 20
British Parliament 24, 96, 97, 105, 136, 157, 170
Commissariat 13, 40, 50, 59, 62, 98, 103, 104, 106, 108, 109, 112, 115, 119, 137, 154, 189, 301
Conciliation Committee 74, 311
Criminal Courts 64, 118
Five Year Plan 451, 452
India Office Library 15, 18, 447
Indian Agricultural Commission 452
Jammu High Court 35
National Archives of India 16
National Planning Committee 451
Nizamat Adawlat 44, 45
NWP High Court 37
Planning Commission 452
Punjab Chief Court 99
Royal Commission on Indian Agriculture 453
Supreme Court 3, 14
Thagi & Dacoity Department (Political Intelligence Department) 15, 16, 18, 29, 87

Fairs

Baisakhi Cattle Fair 163, 205
Berhampur Cattle Fair 60, 98, 104, 108, 297
Brahmapur Fair 397, 401
Chiraghan Fair 128, 131
Choha Saidan Shah Fair 33, 227
Magh Mela 64
Ramnavami Fair 398

Rath Jatra Fair 403
Sonepur Fair 52, 55, 58, 103, 294, 302, 313, 358

British Rulers and Officers

Queen Victoria 12, 15, 18, 24, 68, 366, 394, 429
Palmerston, British Prime Minister (1857-58) 453
Hastings, Warren, Governor-General 6, 7, 83, 84
Palmer, W. 83, 84
Metcalfe, C.T., Resident at Delhi 85
Adam, J., Secretary to Governor General 85

Secretary of State for India 46, 48

Viceroy Dufferin 48, 86
Viceroy Elgin 15, 18
Viceroy Lansdowne 15, 18, 69, 99, 430
Viceroy Ripon 36, 112

Lt. Governor of the NWP 46
Lyall, J.B., Lt. Governor of Punjab 70, 74, 120, 438, 440, 441
MacDonnell, A.P., Lt. Governor of Bengal 70, 428, 431, 433, 436
Crosthwaite, Charles, Lt. Governor of NWP 39, 72, 73, 118, 119, 432, 435, 441
Fitzpatrick, Dennis, Lt. Governor of Punjab 70, 432, 433, 434, 435
Governor of Bengal 75
Viceroy's Legislative Council 25
Secretary of the Government of India, in Bengal 74
Secretary to Government of India, Home Department 73
Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal 75, 80
Chief Secretary to the Government of NWP and Oudh 40, 73
Commissioner of Patna Division 80
Cotton, H.J.S., Chief Secretary, Government of Bengal 420, 427
Davies, R.H., Lt. Governor of the Punjab 92

INDEX

Agnew, P.D., Deputy Commissioner, Karnal 288
Anderson, A., Deputy Commissioner, Delhi 275
Beadon, Colonel 261
Colvin, A. 102, 119
Cotah, Political Agent 103
Cox 341
Deas 432, 435
Drummond, J.R., Deputy Commissioner, Gurgaon 71, 260
Elliott, Charles 438, 440
Forbes, A., Commissioner, Patna Division 292, 408
Gibbon, T.M., Esq. C.I.K. 77, 78, 80, 81, 408
Goddard 83
Grey, Colonel L.J.H., C.B.I. Commissioner and Superintendent 270, 288
Harris, H.N., District Supdt. of Police, Gaya 324
Hare, Collector of Muzaffarpur 343
Henderson, Colonel 122
Henvey, Agent to the Governor-General in Central India 49, 103, 121
Holder, Ernest, Extra Assistant Commissioner 270, 271, 272, 274
Hume 121
Hurry, A. E., Deputy Commissioner, Lahore 80, 266
Hutchinson, Col. J. B., Commissioner and Superintendent Lahore 266, 268
Jackson, H. 277
Lang, B.T.M., Deputy Commissioner, Amritsar 268
Le Mesurier, H. 308, 316
McCracken, D.F. 71, 74, 87
Meakins, Inspector of Police, Umballa 270, 273, 274
Macpherson, D.J., Magistrate of Gaya 293, 304, 317
Norton, Eardley, Barrister 102
Parsons, Captain C.G., Deputy Commissioner, Amballa 270, 272
Phillimore, Sub-divisional Officer of Soamstipur 340
Popham 83
Ramsay, H.M., District Superintendent of Police, Muzaffarpur 375
Rannick, Colonel A., Deputy Commissioner, Rohtak 287

Roberts, Frederick 411
Rogers, A., Engineer, Bengal-North-Western Railway 348
Tupper 70, 120
Williams, H.C., Magistrate and Collector of Darbhanga 78, 301, 422..

Special Entries

Agarwal 49, 104, 110
Age of Consent Bill 433
Ahir 65, 261, 262, 285, 304, 332, 392
Baniah 127, 129, 132, 135, 141, 142. 152, 153, 154, 161, 167, 175, 199, 201, 202, 205, 226, 230, 249, 255, 256, 258, 259, 294, 332
Bengal famine 10, 11
Bhagwat 55, 306, 348
Bihar Light Horse 354
Bishnoi 131
Bopari 262, 263
Bulgaria 410
Cattle Trespass Act 437
Chapattis 49, 102
Congress Reception Committee 39
Criminal Procedure and Penal Code 433
Darulharb 182
Dasehra 166, 188, 189
Egypt 410
English Law of Conspiracy 435
Farman 28, 168, 169
Garnett-Kemp 100
Gillanders, Arbuthnot & Co. 411
Ghosi 220
Granth 91
Gujar 138, 166, 262, 263
Hadis 28, 32, 168, 206
Haldi 65
Sita Ram Ahir 65

Home Rule Movement 430, 431
Id-ul-Zuha 155, 166, 220, 249
Indian Penal Code 37, 96, 99, 135, 142, 162, 172, 198
Ireland 430
Jahanaganj 41
Jizia tax 44
Juma Masjid 300
Kabul 155
Kashmir Durbar 36, 94
Khatik 160
Khatri Sabha 110
Kumhar 138, 160
Kurbani 150, 153, 155, 164, 166, 167, 202, 206, 230
London 18, 21, 48, 95
L/P&J Series (in India Office Library) 18, 87, 124, 420, 430
Maithali Saran Gupta 11
Mahratta Brahmin Pleaders 47, 50, 104, 114
Manapatra 57
Manja Jat 158
Manu 34, 188, 240
Marwari 53, 131, 134, 249, 258, 281, 297, 303, 332, 337, 346, 369
Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (Mahatma Gandhi) 17, 443, 448, 449, 450, 458.
Muharram 102, 105, 148, 150, 161, 164, 188, 189, 192, 201, 238, 296, 297, 298, 301, 307
Muharrir 175
Muslim Rajput 77
Mutiny 31, 69, 103, 109, 150, 157, 430
Nihang 94, 154, 237
Oswal 49, 104
Pandri tax 63, 116
Parmanand Gir 229
Parnell (prominent leader of Irish freedom movement) 431
Patias (chain letters) 60, 67
Patras (anonymous letters) 298, 305, 307, 314, 315
Petit Dinshaw 49

Plato 81, 450
Punjab Laws Act 215
Queen's Jubilee 95, 164
Quran 32, 250, 253, 258
Ram Bhavan 65
Ramayan 55, 306, 348
Ramnath Singh 59
Rangoon 251
Raskh Samaj 110
Russia 12, 28, 72, 93, 100, 119
Saraogi 49, 104, 131
Satyarth Prakash 23
Sheo Lochan 65
Sheriff of Bombay 49, 102
Sikh Raj 20
Sikkim 410
Singh Ram Zaildar 276
Special Central Branch 29
Sub-group XI: Meat Sector 451
Tazaih 296, 297, 298
The Vegetarian (Journal) x
Tibetians 410
Turkey 410
Vernacular Press Act 435

Noteworthy Quotes From the Book

"...the real masters of the movement, are solely influenced by a deep-rooted hatred of our rule and a determination to get rid of it by any means, at any cost."

T. M. Gibbon to A. Forbes, Commissioner Patna Division

"For several years past I have believed that restless but able men have been plotting against our rule, but whether they are planning an agrarian uprising, a religious war or a direct attempt to wrest the country from us, I was not sure. We may yet live to see the day when an attempt is made to combine the three."

T. M. Gibbon to A. Forbes, Commissioner Patna Division

"Though the movement is ostensibly directed against the Muhammadans, it is, as Sir C. Crosthwaite recently pointed out, a form of disloyalty towards the British Government..."

D. F. Mckracken, Officiating General Superintendent Thagi & Dacoity Department.

"...in cow-killing disputes the Muhammadan position is naturally apt to appear the more reasonable to our officers, and in other riots between Hindus and Muhammadans the Hindus

say, perhaps with some justice, that we judge any turbulence or fanaticism on their part more severely than on the part of Muhammadans. In India, as a whole, it is more important politically to keep straight with the Hindus than with the Muhammadans. In the Punjab, it is very necessary to hold the balance perfectly even between the two, and to remember that before we took the country, the Hindus had the upper hand."

D. F. Mckracken, Officiating General Superintendent Thagi & Dacoity Department.

"...under Muhammadan rulers the Hindus have made no attempt to raise this question, and that before the time when the Hindus were stirred up by the existing political propaganda, the Hindus and Muhammadans hardly ever fell out with each other over cow-slaughter or went to the lenghts they do now."

D. F. Mckracken, Officiating General Superintendent Thagi & Dacoity Department.

"The primary danger is that the cow-protection question furnishes a common platform on which all Hindus of whatever sect, however much at variance on other questions, can and do unite."

D. F. Mckracken, Officiating General Superintendent Thagi & Dacoity Department.

"One of the worst features of the movement is that our Hindu subordinates will not give information."

D. F. Mckracken, Officiating General Superintendent Thagi & Dacoity Department.

"There can be no doubt that a new force has arisen, and in considering the military requirements of the country for the preservation of internal order, this force has to be considered as an important factor."

D. F. Mckracken, Officiating General Superintendent Thagi & Dacoity Department.

"The itinerant preachers who traverse the country, passing from fair to fair, are probably more dangerous in disseminating the propaganda of the movement than the local societies with their elaborate rules framed upon European lines..."

Viceroy Lord Lansdowne's Minute on the Movement

"...it will be most desirable both as a matter of strict justice and as one of expediency, that whatever repressive measures we may find it necessary to adopt should be accompanied by measures of a different kind framed with the objects which Sir Charles Elliott has in view, and so framed as to make it evident to the Hindus that we are determined to obtain fair play for them."

Viceroy Lord Lansdowne's Minute on the Movement

About SIDH

SIDH has been working in the field of education since 1989. Over the years it has seen that this education system which is a leagcy of the British is disempowering our people instead of being useful to them. It is alienating our children and youth, destroying their self-esteem, and turning them into mindless consumers who will fit well into the ideology of the market.

Education does not exist in vacuum; it is situated in a social, political, economic and cultural context. Education influences and is influenced by the larger context in which it is located. SIDH has realised that unless the links of education with the larger context are explored and exposed and changes effected in the larger context, no fundamental change can be brought about in education.

This publication is the first in the series to understand this larger socio-political context. Any fundamental change can only be brought about by a basic reorganisation of Indian society based on India's *paramparas*, values, and civilisational outlook.

"I doubt whether, since the Mutiny, any movement containing in it a greater amount of potential mischief has engaged the attention of the government of India. The magnitude of the danger arises from this, that the agitation has supplied the whole of the disloyal elements... with a popular backing which they could not have obtained from any other source. The case presents a close analogy to... Ireland. Just as the Home Rule movement was comparatively powerless while its supporters limited their demands to political and constitutional reforms; so, I believe, would any purely political movement in India be innocuous while it represented nothing more than the vague political aspirations of the half-educated classes, and asked for nothing more... than such reforms as the reconstitution of the Legislative Councils, or the amendment of the Arms Act, or the separation of the Judicial from the Executive. But, as in Ireland, the Home Rule movement became really formidable from the moment when Mr. Parnell's sagacity connected it with the Agrarian question... so in India the unrest and discontent... will, I am afraid, become infinitely more dangerous now that a common ground has been found upon which the educated Hindus and the ignorant masses can combine their forces."

Viceroy Lord Lansdowne's Minute on the Anti-kine Killing Movement

"We English are a lucky race; thank God they have rushed it as they have."

T. M. Gibbon to A. Forbes, Commissioner, Patna Division, on the Movement

About Dharampal

Dharampal joined the Quit India Movement when he was 20. He was arrested and later released but externed from Delhi. Introduced to Mirabehn in 1944, the close association was to continue till her death in Vienna in 1982. During 1947-48 Dharampal came into contact with leaders of the Congress Socialist Party, prominent among them being Jayaprakash Narayan, Ram Manohar Lohia and Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya. This became a life-long friendship. In the late 50s he became the General Secretary of the Association of Voluntary Agencies for Rural Development (AVARD) of which Jayaprakash Narayan was the President. During 1964-65, Dharampal worked with the All-India Panchayat Parishad as Director of Research and it was during this research that he got interested in studying the British records pertaining to 18th and 19th century to assess the state and polity of India before the arrival of the British. With help from JP and other friends he moved to London and spent hours at the India Office Library and the British Museum, poring over the documents relating to this period. These later helped him do seminal work which gives a fresh perspective to look at ourselves and the world around us.

Dharampal now lives in Ashram Pratishthan, Sewagram, established by Mahatma Gandhi.

Society for Integrated
Development of Himalayas
PO Box 19, Mussoorie - 248 179

ISBN: 81-87827-04-1

Price: Rs. 495 (PB)